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SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

BY

BARON HÜBNER,

FORMERLY AMBASSADOR OF AUSTRIA IN PARIS
AND IN ROME.

FROM UNPUBLISHED DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE IN THE STATE ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN, SIMANCAS, VENICE, PARIS, VIENNA, AND FLORENCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH

BY

HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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SIXTUS THE FIFTH.

PART THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONGREGATIONS.

At the time of which we write the Pope ruled with the advice of the cardinals. They assembled for the purpose in a Consistory, wherein, with the assistance of other prelates of different grades and positions, matters concerning the Church throughout the world were treated. The Pope submitted to them those questions which they had to examine, and, after hearing what they had to say, gave his final decision. In former times this mode of proceeding sufficed to meet the requirements of the moment, and enabled the members of the Consistory to have constantly before their eyes the spiritual necessities of the world, and to be well informed of the great political questions which are so often intimately connected with religious interests. It also insured their taking a part in the government of the Church; for an opinion once adopted unanimously

or by a strong majority, and expressed with eloquence and erudition, must necessarily constitute an important element in the deliberations and final resolves of the Pontiff. Since, however, Christianity had extended its rule, and since matters of ecclesiastical interest had multiplied in proportion with the growth of the Christian populations, with the hopes and requirements resulting from the progress of society, this primitive manner of transacting business in open courts gave rise to serious inconveniences, if not to insurmountable difficulties. Many of the predecessors of Sixtus V. had considered it advisable, whenever there was a pressing or important question, to ask, before submitting it to the Consistory, the opinion of a few cardinals, whose experience, knowledge, and antecedents warranted their being consulted on such matters. Under Gregory XIII. there were Congregations that treated severally of the affairs of Germany, of France, of the Index, of bishops, &c. But these limited gatherings were of an essentially intimate and transitory character. They did not form a part of the general administration of the Church, nor did they satisfy, except momentarily, requirements of a permanent nature.[1] Paul III. was the first who instituted a permanent Congregation. The Protestant Reformation was the cause of it. It was called the Congregation of the Holy Office, or of the Inquisition. Apart from the questions of dogma which specially concerned it, the immense weight of ecclesiastical government fell entirely upon the Consistories, which,

[1] Antonio Tiepolo, 1578.

even with the help of the imperfectly constituted Congregations of Gregory XIII., were not able to cope with the pressure of business.

Sixtus V. resolved that the evil should be remedied. He gave the Church, with regard to its spiritual direction, the constitution which is now in force. The principal reason which urged him to this organisation was, undoubtedly, as he said himself, a desire to obviate the inconveniences which we have noticed, and to promote the administrative working of the Church. Another consideration had influenced him—the composition of the Sacred College. In that college sat men belonging to reigning families, who were naturally devoted to their house; protectors of Germany, France, Spain, Poland, Venice, Savoy, who were officially called upon to plead the causes of their sovereigns; and, lastly, vassals and foreign subjects, who were obliged, or, at least, induced, to remain faithful to the prince to whom they owed their preferments. Next to religious interests, therefore, came interests of a dynastic, or political, or personal character, which were foreign, and often opposed to those with which the Consistory had to deal. Hence many cardinals were placed in a false position, not to say in a dependence which, at times, was incompatible with their dignity as senators of the Church. If the work could be divided, if the members of the Congregations could be selected with discretion, all these inconveniences would either disappear, or, at least, be considerably reduced.

Did Sixtus V. mean more, and wish to break the

opposition which he might meet in general assemblies to the consolidation and enhancement of the Pope's absolute power? He has often been accused of it, and even now-a-days it is sometimes maintained that the institution of the Congregations was an attempt to break the legitimate influence of the Sacred College, by unduly concentrating in the hands of a restricted number of individuals not so much the decision, which it always belongs to the Pope to give, as the preliminary labour upon which that decision naturally rests. This opinion is seldom expressed in words, but it subsists, and is, perhaps, connected with wider and more radical views. It forms one of the elements of the opposition to be met with in the ecclesiastical world, as, indeed, everywhere else, and which has a real cause, for life means a struggle. When the struggle ceases, life ends. Opposition is, therefore, a sign of vitality; and woe be to the Governments which, not contented with being able to master the opposition, wish to pursue their victory even to its annihilation. Apart, then, from questions of dogma, Rome, which alone has overriden the storms of eighteen centuries, has never struggled to excess, but has always left a large margin to imagination, and more than once has declined to express that opinion which was asked for by contending parties.[1]

Sixtus V., who was eminently an autocratic sovereign, and had a cardinal camerlingo put under arrest for insubordination, never punished those who opposed him in the Consistory, or who loudly complained in these

[1] We may here recall the celebrated cause which gave rise to Padre Molina's book, 'De Concordia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii,' which was published in Lisbon, in 1585.

assemblies of the measures which he had adopted as Head of the Church. It is not very likely, therefore, that he wished, by means of the Congregations, to extend or facilitate the exercise of his supreme power. To the advantages of his position, to his energetic will, and to the prestige of his name, he joined an unquestionable superiority in intelligence, in learning, and in common practical sense. He had no reason to avoid, nor did he avoid, discussion. On the contrary, he brought it on, and all the more so that he felt the want of, and had a passion for, public speaking.

In the Consistories he loved to fire up, and overwhelm those who contradicted him, by speeches, not to say by sermons, wherein numerous quotations from the Scriptures recalled the former Cordelier monk, but which, replete with witty remarks and sarcasms, subdued an adversary, unless the irresistible logic of the latter could silence him. These oratorical tilts were as necessary to his health as bodily exercise is for men who lead a sedentary existence. His conduct proved what importance he attached to these assemblies. Up to the time of his death he never failed to hold a Consistory once a week, and to put before it important questions of either ecclesiastical or financial or political interest. When secrecy was absolutely necessary, he preferred having recourse to the Congregations, or intrusted the matter to the secret consideration of the cardinals in Consistory, under penalty of excommunication, or of the loss of their cardinalships, or even of their lives.[1]

[1] Badoer to the Doge, July 1, 1589.

Whenever his proposals were met by silence he became impatient, and insisted that each should express himself freely. On one occasion [1] he announced his intention of appointing two new cardinals, and gave their names. Everyone was silent. The Pope several times asked the cardinals to express their opinion. At last silence was broken, and there ensued a general outcry, not against the two candidates mentioned by the Pope, but against the frequent nominations made by His Holiness. One of the cardinals, Paleotto, was remarkable for his vehement opposition. The Pope listened to him, gave his reasons, and said that he was not like Pius IV., who made twenty-five cardinals at once, of whom one was the cardinal who now so strenuously opposed the appointment of only two.

We know by the echoes from the Sacred College, by the correspondence of the ambassadors, how little Sixtus gave heed to the advice of his cardinals. It is nevertheless certain that he listened to them, discussed matters with them, often modified his own views after hearing theirs, without, however, allowing it, and was very anxious, when it was a question of taking an important decision, to secure the adhesion of the Consistory. The cardinals, on the other hand, were not so alarmed as it has been said. Whenever questions of a difficult nature arose in the Consistory, the ambassadors, who besides were often present, easily obtained reports of the discussion which had taken place upon them. These documents clearly prove that these

[1] Gritti to the Doge, December 17, 1588.

meetings were not assemblies composed of men easily led, or even ready to bow before the official oracle. Certainly all the members of a numerous assembly are not equally gifted with rare qualities, and are not all heroes; but before that fiery old man, who could so well inspire terror, all the cardinals, with at least very few exceptions, gave frequent proofs of a laudable independence.

On entering the Sala Ducale, where the Consistories were generally held, the Pope used to hear such of the cardinals as might wish to speak to him in private. The others, however, could indulge in an 'a parte' among themselves, and change places if necessary, but resumed their own always when the Pontiff had opened the meeting.[1] The latter, all the while that he was talking, followed with his eye the movements of the cardinals, and especially those who, like Medici, De Joyeuse, and De Sens, were always the most active. His eyesight was excellent; he could guess with a rare acuteness all the little plots that were being devised. He could judge at a glance with a rapidity and a justness which was astonishing. It is said that on entering the room he saw who were absent. Woe to those who could not explain their absence. He attacked them with his customary vehemence, calling forth the murmurs or the mirth of the assembly according to the tone which he adopted. Such were the Consistories.

A brief exposition may here be given of the new system of the Congregations established by the cele-

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., March 30, 1588.

brated bull of Sixtus V., 'Immensa æterni Dei.' There is no doubt that the document was written out by himself. God, it is said in it, has implanted an admirable harmony in the works of the creation, each helping the other, and mutually completing one another. Then follows a comparison between the celestial and earthly Jerusalem. In the one the beatified spirits are classified into categories, God's will being that the most gifted among them should come to the help of those inferior to them, whereas here below Providence has instituted a hierarchy composed of men of various positions who are all called upon to group themselves, each according to his rank, around the sovereign Pontiff. He it is who sends the missionaries to the distant lands, where they are to look after his flock, but who keeps by him, as Moses did, the old men, as Our Lord did the Apostles—seventy cardinals who are the most illustrious members of the Church, and who have to aid him by their advice, and to bear with him the immense weight of the interests of Christianity. To him alone has God given the power of binding or unbinding. After this exordium, which secures for the Pope the full absolute power, and points to the advising character of the votes of the cardinals, the bull gives as a reason why Congregations should be created, with the consent of the Sacred College, and how necessary it is that business should be accelerated.

The established Congregations, of which those that relate to the spiritual power of the Pope still exist, were fifteen in number. The first, the Congregation of the Holy Office, instituted by Paul III., was confirmed

by a bull of Sixtus V., which reorganised it. To it were referred all the questions relating to faith, to manifest heresies, to schisms, apostasies, sacrilege, or abuse of the sacraments. Of all the Congregations it is the only one that has the power and attributes of a tribunal. It is presided over by the Pope himself, and extends its jurisdiction all over the globe, wherever the Catholic religion exists. It was and still is the most important of the Congregations.

To the 'signature' of graces belongs the inquiry into the request made for favours or grace whenever they cannot be granted by the ordinary tribunals. To the Congregation 'for the Erection of Churches and Consistorial Provisions' are referred all requests for building patriarchal or metropolitan churches, cathedrals, or chapters, according to the decree of the Council of Trent.

The Congregation called 'The Abundance of the Ecclesiastical State,' has the supreme direction of all that relates to the provisioning of Rome and its provinces, especially in the interest of the poorer classes. Sixtus V. gave this Congregation 200,000 scudi, which, as he said, were the result of his savings, and were destined to be the inheritance of the poor. By a special bull he recommended that his successors should keep this sum whole, if they could not increase it.

The Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies had to see that the established customs observed in the ceremonies of the Church should be upheld, and to reform the abuses that might have crept in. The

pontifical chapel, and all the churches of the universe are under its control, and questions of canonisation come within its scope.

The Pope had conceived the idea of having a pontifical navy. The Congregation of the Naval Army was intrusted with the management of all that concerned naval work. 'After having exterminated, with the help of God,' says the bull, 'the brigands that infested the Mediterranean lands, so that now every man can live quietly at home in his vineyard, and under the shade of his fig-tree, we intend to sweep the pirates from the sea, in order that we may afford security not only to our own subjects, but also to the numerous strangers who visit Rome.' The fleet was to be composed of ten galleys.

The Congregation of the Index has charge of the list of books prohibited on the ground that they contain heretical doctrines. It is in communication with the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Salamanca, and Louvain. By establishing these relations, the Pope intended to attack the evil at its root. He was evidently less desirous of preparing lists, which must necessarily be incomplete, of books not allowed to be read, than of preventing, with the help of those Universities, the adoption and propagation of doctrines which the Church condemned.

The Congregation of the Council of Trent had to interpret all the acts of that council relating to the reform of manners and of ecclesiastical discipline. It had the whole world to deal with. But as regards all questions of dogma treated in that council, the Pope

reserved to himself the absolute right of interpretation.

Other Congregations were established, to come in aid of ecclesiastics, and to govern the University called the Sapienza, which Leo X. had instituted. Sixtus V. liquidated the debts of that establishment, and added the two wings of the building which still exist.

The Congregation of the 'Regulars' is entrusted with all matters relating to litigation between convents, excepting quarrels between individuals, which are settled by the superiors of the convent in which they occur.

The Congregation of the Bishops takes notice of all the requests and proposals made by patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and non-regular prelates, and intervenes in the event of a contest between them.

A Congregation looks after the roads, bridges, and aqueducts of the Pontifical State.

Another presides over the printing establishment of the Vatican, which, instituted by Pius IV., was added to and enriched by Sixtus V., who made use of it for the publication of his edition of the 'Fathers of the Church,' and of the 'Vulgate.'

Finally, there was the Congregation for State Consultations, a kind of tribunal of appeal, which revised, subject to the Pontiff's final decision, all suits, whether civil or criminal.

The Congregations were thus of two classes. Seven had charge of the Pontifical administration, of public instruction, of justice, of marine, of poor law, of the supply of provisions, of public works, roads, bridges

and aqueducts, and, lastly, of printing. With the exception of the Congregation now called 'degli studii,' and which, according to the wish of Sixtus V., was to control the teaching in the University, they have all been merged in the 'dicasterii' of the State, which are of recent creation. The other eight relate to the whole world, and comprise every branch of Church government: dogma, indulgences, the disposal of a diocese and all that relates to it, rites and ceremonies, censure of the press, interpretation of the acts of the Council, the relation between the bishops and the Holy See, and the litigation between monastic orders.

The Pope's intention was to change annually, or at least every two years, the composition of these Congregations, so that all the members of the Sacred College should pass successively through each of them, and thus acquire a practical acquaintance with all the affairs relating to the State or to the Church.[1]

Sixtus V. had the greatest respect for the opinions expressed by the Congregations, and very seldom followed a course different to that which they recommended. The absolution of the Comte de Soissons, which had been asked by Henry III. and the Cardinal de Bourbon, constitutes one exception. The Congregation to which he had referred the question with a strong recommendation in favour of the Count, had unanimously voted against the absolution. To the great astonishment of the Sacred College, the Pope

[1] G. Gritti to the Doge, April 2, 1588. He points to the use of such a regulation, but fears that it may generalise in the cardinals a superficial knowledge of each matter.

on this occasion, moved by political considerations of a high character, disregarded the vote.[1]

The establishment of these restricted but permanent assemblies was variously appreciated; but the criticism of cardinals and prelates, as well as of the public, fell especially upon their composition. Many wounded susceptibilities or questions of self-love came into play, but no principle was attacked.[2] As an institution the Congregations have shown what they were worth. They still subsist,[3] though they have been modified and increased in number according to the requirements of the times. Sixtus has the honour of having organised the work of the Church.

He took particular interest in the manner in which the Sacred College was composed. Following precedents, which happily had become less frequent and were generally condemned, he had had the weakness to yield to his love for his family, and to make a cardinal of a boy of thirteen. The remarks of some cardinals and the significant silence of others, as well as the reproaches of his own conscience, soon proved to him that he had committed an error, and that his authority as Pope would be much shaken if he persevered in the unfortunate line of turning the Papacy to

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., September 20, 1588.

[2] G. Gritti to the Doge, January 30, 1587.

[3] Here is the list of the Congregations that exist nowadays:—Romana ed universale Inquisizione, Consistoriale, Visita Apostolica, Vescovi e Regolari, Concilio, Residenza de' Vescovi, Sopra lo stato de' Regolari, Immunità ecclesiastica, De propaganda fide, Indice, Sacri Riti, Ceremoniale, Disciplina regolare, Indulgenze e sacre reliquie, Esame de' Vescovi, Fabbrica di San Pietro, Lauretana, Affari ecclesiastici straordinarii, Studii.

the advantage of his family. From that moment he selected his cardinals with the utmost care. He did not, however, escape criticism on that head, and was much blamed because he promoted his former cup-bearer, Galli. Those whom he made cardinals were generally all of them pious men, who belonged to the reformed section, and who in every respect were worthy of the high appointment conferred upon them. One of them, Aldobrandini, was to become Pope. Hugh de Verdates was Grand Master of the Knights of Malta. Alan, an Englishman, was remarkable for his noble character; Cusani for his learning; Morosini, a Venetian, as a diplomatist; Pierbenedetti, for the energy and severity of his administration as Governor of Rome. Gaëtani figured in the history of the League as the Pope's legate in France, and the very last name on the last list of the Pope's appointments to cardinalships is that of Pepoli, a member of that family whose chief had been put to death by his orders. It is said that Pepoli owed his cardinal's hat to the Pope's wish to appear impartial. It may be that Sixtus, who was now near his end, looked back with regret to the death of a noble old man who had been the victim of the requirements of an extreme case.

Nothing displeased him more than to find that foreign cardinals of recent creation sought to avoid the obligation of coming to Rome. He declared in a Consistory that they should not receive the cardinal's hat nor enjoy their prerogatives before doing so. The delay of Cardinal Draskovich gave rise to an angry correspondence between the Courts of Rome and of

Prague. The ever-important question relative to foreign cardinals was often discussed in the Consistories. The Pope complained [1] that he was beset by requests from foreign princes, who seemed as if they wanted to force him to promote individuals who were not worthy of the honour. He appointed a Congregation to determine what qualities were needed in those who were to be made cardinals. According to the terms of the bull 'Postquam verus ille,' [2] the number of cardinals is limited to seventy. The appointments of those who exceeded this number were to be considered null and void. Cardinals were as much as possible to be chosen among all the Christian nations; deacons must be at least twenty-two years of age before they could be eligible as cardinals. There must be at least four doctors in theology among the seventy cardinals, belonging to the regular mendicant orders. To be a cardinal a man must have received the minor orders, and have worn the cassock and tonsure for at least a year. Cardinals not in Rome at the time of their appointment are bound to be in Rome some time during the year which follows the date of their appointment.

In one of the last letters which he wrote before his death, Cardinal d'Este [3] presents certain considerations to M. de Villeroy's appreciation, which have not lost the interest of reality. 'I know not,' he said, 'what idea will be formed of a cardinal, nor whether those whom he (Sixtus V.) has appointed will come up to that standard; but I do know this that the Council of

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, December 17, 1585.
[2] December 1585. [3] November 17, 1586.

Trent has very wisely decreed that cardinals should as much as possible be chosen from among all the Christian nations. Now it would be reasonable if France, which is the first and chief kingdom of Christendom (after the Holy Empire), should have a number of cardinals in proportion to its extent of territory and its greatness and merit before the Holy See. But they should also remember that they are advisers of the Holy See and of the Universal Church, and should sometimes come and reside in Rome. This residence in Rome has brought about, in my opinion, a result which would otherwise be considered intolerable, namely, that Italy, which is one of the smallest countries in the Catholic world, supplies more than two-thirds and almost three-fourths of the present number of cardinals. It follows that it is *ipso facto* impossible for any other nation to have one of its natives Pope. Be it understood that the Pope is Pope of all Christendom and not of the Italians only. The dignities of a cardinal and of a Pope should be open to men of merit of all nations, and in proportion to the importance of each community.'

When a promotion took place, Sixtus V. liked to set off the grounds on which their election was based. He took pleasure in mentioning the merits of the various cardinals to Gritti, saying that he did not do as Gregory XIII. did, who could not come to a decision, but at the end of a Consistory suddenly pulled out of his pocket a paper on which nineteen names were written, and merely read the names over, adding: 'Ad sedandas murmurationes creamus cardinalem primum ad

instantiam Cæsaris . . .' 'While we have the greatest difficulty in finding a few rare individuals who are worthy of the honour, and who possess the qualities necessary for discharging the duties of a cardinal, we do not make a sweeping election of nineteen, as Gregory did, who only thought of benefiting his family and his favourites.' He wished to show thereby that numerous appointments at the end of a pontificate always indicate, on the part of their author, a hope that after him some Pope will be elected who will be favourable to his family. 'There is no greater mistake,' says he, 'than to wish to influence the choice of a successor for the sake of personal interests. Before his death, Paul IV. created a great number of cardinals, so as to ensure the election of Carpi as Pope; but, instead of Carpi, Medichino (Pius XIV.) was elected, and he had all the nephews of his predecessor strangled. Pius IV. wanted the Cardinal of Pisa to be his successor, but it did not come to pass. Pius V. wanted Morone to succeed him, but Gregory was appointed, who, of all the cardinals, was the one for whom he had the least sympathy. Gregory wanted as his successor a cardinal who is still alive, and whom we shall not name, and to insure his election he appointed nineteen cardinals at one time. We were elected, and everybody knows how hostile he was to us. But what is the good of speaking of it? St. Peter wanted Clement to be Pope after him, and Linus was his successor. Yet St. Peter could only commit venial sin, for he had been visited by the Holy Ghost, who confirmed him in a state of grace. We are the vicars of Christ, and Christ is our Bishop; and as it

would be a great stupidity on the part of a dying vicar to name his successor, instead of leaving the choice of it to the bishop, so would it be folly if the Popes imagined that they could make the vicars of Christ. This task must be left entirely to the Bishop, who is Christ, 'qui est episcopus animæ nostræ,' for He knows what Pope to elect. He wishes to elect them, and does not wish others to do so for Him.'

CHAPTER II.

THE POPE AND THE KING OF SPAIN.

As regards the interests of religion, no country gave the Pope so much pleasure as Spain, for the Reformation, which at one time seemed likely to invade it, was completely vanquished. On this point there was not the slightest doubt. Philip II. deserved the title of Catholic King. His devotion to the cause of the faith and of the Holy See could not be doubted. No other sovereign showed more zeal in the defence of the dogmas of the Church, and no one, whatever his political motives, or the extent of his ambition, had done more to combat heresy. No prince was more interested in conquering it, for, by the force of circumstances alone, and all religious opinions set aside, his power was identified with the cause of religion.[1] If Germany, France, Poland, and Sweden gave great anxiety to the Holy Father, and if the state of England filled him with grief and sorrow, Spain afforded him

[1] 'I cattolici (of France), si dice, non spendono in questa guerra altri denari che reali di Spagna. E se è vero il re fa bene; perchè non sarebbe punto suo servizio che Francia diventasse luterana, per rispetto delle cose di Fiandra, e ancora per quelle di Spagna, le quali in tal caso farebbero qualche novità; e si crede che quei popoli di Spagna aspettino e desiderino una occasione tale.'—Babbi to the Grand-Duke, May 25, 1585. Arch. flor. f. 3,604.

great consolation. And yet no country gave him more trouble, or more cause for irritation and anger.

As we have said, Philip II. believed himself called upon by Providence not only to defend the Church and to protect it, but also to watch over it, and, in a measure, to share with the Pope the somewhat difficult task of being the Apostle of Christendom. Everyone knows how numerous were the quarrels with respect to ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and other similar questions, which divided the two Courts; but we are too prone to see in them the ever-recurring conflict between the temporal and spiritual power of the Popes. Philip was equally jealous of his royal prerogatives, but his greatest fears were not awakened by the encroachments of the Holy See upon his sovereign rights. In this respect even he was, as a true submissive son of the Church, ever ready to make concessions. What he would not admit was that the Pope should exercise his full ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Spain without his intervention. He claimed his share as a protector of the Church—as responsible before God not only for the temporal good, but also for the salvation of the souls of his subjects; and this spiritual mission he was rather disposed to believe he could extend to the whole Catholic world. There is, however, a marked distinction between these pretensions and the usual conflicts between the Church and the State. Sovereigns who are at feud with Rome defend, according to their own view, the interests of the State against what is called the encroachments of the Holy See, or seek to maintain, without being separated from Rome, principles which Rome secretly

abhors if she does not openly condemn them. Philip, on the contrary, fought in the interests of the Church, as he understood them; for he looked upon himself as a kind of civil vicar of Christ. Whenever, in the fulfilment of this imaginary mission, he met with a doubt, he sometimes laid it before his ministers, but he preferred to submit it to his confessor or to theologians, or to committees specially appointed to examine it, or to congregations composed of doctors of theology. He believed he had two missions to fulfil. He was king, and also a little of a pontiff; just as the Pope is first a pontiff, then king. In this groove ran all his ideas. Sixtus V. indignantly rejected such pretensions.

'He says,' writes Philip to the Duke of Sessa,[1] then his special ambassador in Rome, 'that secular princes must take no part in ecclesiastical matters. He might be answered that in reality that is so, but they have always had the right to submit to the Pope their counsels and their requests as to what they ought to do in the interest and for the preservation of the Christian religion; and the Popes have always shown deference to their advice. In the anxious state in which the Church finds itself nowadays, there are many reasons why His Holiness should believe my words, admit my observations, and listen to my advice with that readiness and deference which his predecessors have in similar cases shown to mine.'

The deeply-rooted conviction that he was the civil

[1] Philip II. to Sessa, June 12, 1590.

vicar of Christ on earth can be frequently traced in his letters, and is reproduced in the language of his agents. When the Duke of Sessa was on his way to Rome, he was complimented at Livorno by the Ministers of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand. To their complaint of the reserved attitude of the Spanish envoy at Florence,[1] he replied, 'What His Majesty does is done for the service of Our Lord, and for the universal good of Christendom and of the Catholic religion. This is a known fact. The Grand-Duke has only to afford him his sincere co-operation, and he will act in the just cause. It will be the means of doing away with any distrust which His Majesty may entertain with regard to him.' It is always for this reason that the diplomatists of Philip II. were never weary of writing to him on matters of a purely ecclesiastical nature. Their complaints as to the abuse and arbitrary acts of Sixtus V. in regard to provisions are endless. Olivarès, who hated the Pope, even went so far as to insinuate the idea of a General Council, and besides this a National Council, to be convoked at Toledo, which should inquire into abuses—that is to say, should constitute itself into a tribunal and judge the Pope.

He wrote to the King[2] that, after taking the advice of a well-informed and learned person, whose name must not be mentioned, 'he has called attention to the scandalous proceedings of the Pontifical Court in regard to provisions, preferments, and indulgences, which are so prejudicial to the good in general, and especially

[1] Sessa to Ydiaquez, August 1, 1590.
[2] Olivarès to Philip II., April 14, 1590.

to the subjects of His Majesty. That person is of opinion that the Cardinal of Toledo, as Primate of Spain, might, without the King's intervention, convoke a National Council, composed of all the prelates of the kingdom, and treat with them of the remedies which such evils require. This would only be following the example of other councils at Toledo, which have been called, to the great benefit of the Church and of God's cause.' This opinion he hastened to lay before the King.

The Duke of Sessa had no sooner arrived than he adopted Count Olivarès' way of thinking. 'To leave matters as they now are,' he wrote to Ydiaquez (1590), 'is to lose our reputation here, and with it all that belongs to it; for, to tell the truth, the Pope does not like us because we do not satisfy his cupidity' (as if it were not Philip II. who was always asking money of Sixtus V.), 'and he does not fear us because we tolerate the unjust acts which he commits, and the harm he does to the world in general and to Spain in particular. Everyone is unanimous in saying that what takes place under this pontificate is unheard of.'

The two Spanish ambassadors thought that Sixtus intended to modify by a bull the rules which regulate the election of pontiffs. 'For upwards of four hundred years,' writes Olivarès to the King (May 29, 1590), 'the election of the Pope has always required a majority of two-thirds of the electors. This rule, which has been dictated by the Holy Ghost, is the work of the Council of Lateran, which was held in the time of Alexander III.; and to this rule is due the

cessation of scandal and disorder which had formerly attended such elections. There is now reason to believe that His Holiness intends to proclaim by a bull that half the votes shall be sufficient. His intention would be thus to facilitate the election of his nephew as the next Pope.' The ambassador dilated on the evil consequences of such a resolution, which was beforehand condemned by every member of the Sacred College, who would, however, in the event of his proposing it, for the most part vote for his proposal. He feared that, with the aid of Cardinal Montalto, the Grand-Duke Ferdinand would succeed at the next Conclave in determining the election of a cardinal 'who would be hostile to the cause of Our Lord and of your Majesty.' The Duke of Sessa was also afraid of the Grand-Duke's influence, which, he said, was very great in Rome, owing to his intimacy with the nephew of Sixtus V., with many cardinals, and most of the Roman nobility. 'As His Holiness,' writes Olivarès, 'is in the habit of clearing ditches when not too wide, it may be useful that your Majesty should write to him of your own hand, declaring that a Pope who is elected by a majority less than that which is at present required shall not be recognised in Spain; and that, moreover, the property of such Spanish cardinals as may have joined in such an election would be confiscated until another choice had been made according to law. We must,' he added, 'make use of strong threats, and not of requests, which would have a contrary effect.' He had consulted Cardinals Madruccio and Deza on this subject. The former had replied that he deferred to

the opinion expressed by the theologians; the latter, that obedience is not due to those Popes who act contrarily to the interests of the Church. The state of the Pope's health, who had only a few more months to live, seemed to give anxiety to the ambassador, inasmuch as he found that his illness did not make sufficiently rapid progress. He therefore recommended the King to write eventually, and in the same sense, to the Sacred College a letter, which should be given to it in the event of a vacancy of the Holy See occurring. In a postscript the ambassador added, that by his bull the Pope intended to do away with the election by 'adoration,' and to prescribe that henceforth elections should be exclusively carried by ballot. Olivarès was obliged to allow that such a measure would be contrary to the interests of the Pope's nephew and of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. He also informed the King, though evidently against his will, of the motives which had suggested such a plan. It was with the view of destroying the influence which cardinal-nephews of Popes generally exercise in the Conclave, in their capacity of heads of factions, to the prejudice of other cardinals, who are often obliged to vote against what their own conscience suggests to them, and are thus deprived of any real part in the election.

With his usual reserve, and the prudence with which he always transacted business, the King shared but feebly the views of his ambassador. He wrote to the Duke of Sessa, not to Olivarès, whose violence had somewhat discredited him in the eyes of the King, that he had learned with regret the proposed plan; that

innovations, especially in serious matters, were always dangerous; that, even were the good to result from such change evident, great caution would still be necessary; that a long experience and the short duration of the last Conclaves pleaded in favour of the existing laws and customs; and that such an innovation would considerably add to the existing confusion as well as to the dangers which surrounded the Church, already so compromised. The King expected that the Pope's zeal and learning would make him appreciate advice, which he said was inspired only by his devotion and his duty to the common cause of Christendom, in which he had so great a share.[1] Sessa was instructed to concert with Olivarès as to the language he should hold to the Pope in conformity with his instructions. The two ambassadors were likewise authorised to add to the arguments which he suggested other considerations which would be likely to produce an effect. But the passage saying this is scratched out in the draft of the despatch, and is evidently in the King's own hand. He was clearly afraid lest his representatives should go beyond the limits within which he wished them to act, and within which he knew so well how to maintain himself. If, on the arrival of these instructions, the Pope had given up his project they were to make no representation whatever, so as not to warn His Holiness, or to treat the rumour as false. There is not a threat, or anything that could be interpreted as an attempt at intimidation, in the whole letter.

[1] 'De que tanta parte me cabe.'

Another innovation, respecting a far less important matter—the costume of the bishops—had alarmed the King. He found that the long black cassock of the Spanish prelates was dignified, grave, and in harmony with the ministry of a priest. No change could alter it for the better. To shorten it, or change the black, which he loved, for violet, would be to lessen the authority of the high clergy, and open the way to other inconveniences, which he enumerated at length. 'No doubt,' he said, 'the cassock is not the most important thing in a priest, but it has its importance.' The King, therefore, was most anxious that the Pope should reconsider his decision, at least as regarded Spain. He instructed Olivarès to observe to the Pope that some regard must be shown to the customs and ideas of each country, and that everything does not suit everybody. He asked that outside the church the Spanish bishops should preserve their actual dress, but made no objection to their adopting in church the usages of Rome.[1]

Olivarès and, following his example, the Duke of Sessa watched, criticised, and condemned every measure of the Pope's personal government, gave an exact account of the facts, but put the worst interpretation upon them. Their pen is steeped in vinegar. To their system of provocation, which was dictated by a blind hatred of the Pope, Philip opposed a great freedom of spirit and calmness which nothing could move. He never lost sight of his supposed mission, nor ever forgot the respect he owed to the Pontiff. Lost

[1] Philip II. to Olivarès, 1588.

in his daily work, he, for all that, never ceased looking at the general interests of the Catholic world, for which he was ready to sacrifice any personal susceptibility, and even his own dignity, of which he was so jealous. When we examine him closely in his correspondence, either written by himself or corrected by him, and in his unceasing labours, we cannot but render justice to the firmness of his character and incline to an appreciation of the man very different from that which we have seen in the writings of numerous historians.

The publication of a new edition of the Bible [1] gave rise to some sharp discussions and criticisms in the ecclesiastical world. The Council of Trent had ordered that the Vulgate should be revised. This work, which had been entrusted by Pius IV. to a few cardinals, had been continued under Pius V., and almost abandoned under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., was taken up by Sixtus V., who worked at it himself, and succeeded so well, with the co-operation of Padre Toledo and a few learned monks, that its printing was commenced in the last year of his life. Walking, on one occasion, with the Venetian envoy Badoer at his country house, he told him that, 'notwithstanding the desire of the Council, the work had never been seriously undertaken; that he had, therefore, intrusted it to some cardinals, with whose work, however, he had been dissatisfied, and had then been obliged to work at it himself; that he was near the end of his troubles, since he had already come

[1] It was only finished during the pontificate of Clement VIII., under the title of 'Biblia Sacra Vulgata editionis, Sixti V. pont. max. jussa recognita et Clementis auctoritate edita.'

to the Apocalypse, and that the Book of Wisdom was then under publication.' He added that, when his (the ambassador's) visit was announced, he was then at work at the book, in which occupation he delighted, and in the framing of which he proceeded thus: as soon as he had done a sheet, he passed it over to Padre Toledo and to a few Austin friars who were very learned in these matters, and these reviewed and corrected the sheets, which were then sent to the printers.[1]

A biography of Pius V. had been published under the auspices of Sixtus V. The sale of the book was prohibited in Milan. 'The Spaniards,' wrote Cardinal d'Este to M. de Villeroy (October 6, 1586), 'would like

[1] Cardinal Santa Severina, who is quoted by Tempesti, gives other motives for the discontent expressed by Sixtus V. According to him, the Pope, on examining the edition, fifty copies of which had been published, discovered that it was full of faults of printing, and found himself obliged to forbid the sale. Some copies had been already distributed. The Barberini Library possessed one already. This version deserves more credence than the details given to Olivarès by his friend, Cardinal Caraffa, who had been personally injured by the Pope. 'His Holiness,' said the Spanish ambassador to Philip, 'has just published a Bible. He had a quarrel with Cardinal Caraffa, whom he has even threatened to send before the tribunal of the Inquisition, because he had contested his right to alter anything whatsoever in the text of the Bible. Since then the Pope has withdrawn his power to revise, and has taken the task upon himself, consulting Dr. Toledo upon the most difficult passages, but without telling him that he intended to adhere to his opinion. Padre Toledo knows, on the contrary, that in many places he has not followed his version, and that at other times he has modified it. In one passage he actually suppressed five lines, so that Toledo thinks that the edition will benefit the heretics more than the faithful, and that, if no other reason existed, this fact alone would prove how necessary was the convocation of a General Council. (It was then much recommended.) The Holy Father is to give copies to the cardinals, and to send one to your Majesty; but I shall put you in the way, sire, of previously having the work examined.'—Olivarès to Philip II., May 7, 1590.

all things in the world to submit to them. They are put out that history, as concerns them, should have obeyed the first law, which is truth, and told it about them as well as about others when the opportunity offered. So they have forbidden the sale and publication of the book in Milan and other places where they command.' The Pope, who was angry at this, said that 'to forbid the publication of the life of so holy a Pontiff is an act worse than any which could be committed by a heretic.'

To put an end to deplorable abuses, Sixtus V. had published a decree declaring that henceforth no holder of a preferment should resign his living in favour of anyone unless the case had been examined by a committee of three cardinals. This measure was looked upon, both in Paris and in Madrid, as an encroachment upon the rights of the Crown.[1] When Count Olivarès offered, according to custom, the 'ghinea,' which represented the tribute which Naples paid to the Holy See, and which the latter exacted from the former as a fief of the Church, but which the Court of Spain treated merely as an old custom, Sixtus V. exclaimed: 'We accept it as a thing which is due to us.'[2] These words gave rise to a violent scene during the private audience which followed the above-mentioned ceremony. The voices of the two disputants might be heard in the antechamber, and the Pope, on dismissing Olivarès from his presence, was so

[1] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, June 2, 1586.
[2] 'Acceptamus prout contingit.'

irritated that he threw down his napkin and his pocket-handkerchief.

The causes of displeasure went on increasing. The Holy Father required that the bishops should all come to Rome at least once. This injunction was particularly disagreeable to the Spanish bishops. They sought a pretext not to come, but their excuses were severely criticised by the Nuncio, who recalled the example shown to them by the bishops of Poland, who, though less rich, and further off from Rome, and having a much more painful journey before them, fulfilled, however, this duty with pleasure. The angry feelings of those high in office at Madrid burst forth into complaints against the Pope, whom they accused of being uneasy and intractable, and even of following the errors of Paul IV.[1]

The Council of Castile held that, in conformity with the canonical laws, the revenues of the vacant livings did not belong to the Apostolic Chamber, as was supposed in Rome. This gave rise to a long debate. The Pope made a violent speech in a Consistory against the Council of Castile, and indirectly against the person of the King. Philip, who in a particular case had just made a concession on this point, asked for the return of the document conveying the intelligence which had been remitted to the Nuncio, and instructed the President of the Council to take possession of it at any cost. The Nuncio, on the other hand, declared that he would rather die than endure such an humiliation.

[1] Tomasino Contarini to the Doge. Madrid, October 3, 1589.

The affair was noised about, and the King let it drop.[1]

The Nuncio complained constantly of the difficulty he had in obtaining access to the King. He was finally obliged by an order from Rome to insist on being received once a week. All innovations were odious to Philip, who, feeling how inconvenient it is for a sovereign to treat of a matter personally with a foreign representative, had a great repugnance to granting an audience. He, however, was resigned on this occasion, and acceded to the Pope's request.[2]

The bull published towards the end of 1589, and ordering a jubilee in consequence of the affairs in France, gave every priest the right of absolving from the crime of heresy.

This clause was opposed in Madrid. The Archbishop of Toledo found that it infringed the privileges of the Inquisition, while the King's ministers discovered that it was prejudicial to the revenue, which largely profited by condemnations for heresy. Philip disapproved of it because it was an indirect means of facilitating the return of the King of Navarre to the fold of the Catholic Church, and at the same time his entrance to the Louvre. This last consideration had not escaped the notice of Count Olivarès, who, without waiting for instructions, had vehemently protested. This time he was approved by his master. The Nuncio, who had been requested by the King to ask for further instructions from Rome before the publication of the bull,

[1] H. Lippomano to the Doge. Madrid, August 12, 1588.
[2] T. Contarini to the Doge, September 3, 1589.

gave way to these solicitations, and Philip hastened to place his objections in the hands of his ambassador. They were the following:—To forgive so easily so great a fault would be to encourage its committal: the authority of the Inquisition would thereby be lessened, and, after the divine mercy, it was to the tribunal of the Inquisition that the preservation of the faith in all its purity in Spain was due. In France, facilities for absolution from heresy might engender two evils: heretics would profit by a feigned conversion, and so would the lukewarm, who put their interests and religion on the same level. Besides which it is a dangerous thing to intrust ignorant and dissolute men, like most of the French priests, with the power of absolving heresy. The essential point, however, was to obtain that the French clergy should expressly be forbidden to give absolution to Henry 'the Béarnais.' 'This is the principal end,' says the King in his despatch, 'on which you must bring all your power to bear. It is the one important point. On the success of your endeavours depends the salvation or the loss of the kingdom of France, and of so great a portion of the Christian world.'

The somewhat lavish use of excommunication in Spain had produced great indifference to it. It was no longer noticed; for while it was so easily encurred, it might with equal ease be removed. The civil authorities began to refuse to lend their co-operation to the bishops. Hence the Nuncio's complaints, and at Court a general outcry against what was called the encroachments and bad character of the Pope. The King's

intervention always aimed at appeasing matters and preventing a rupture.[1] His conduct was explained by the fear which he was supposed to entertain, that Sixtus V. would have recourse to extreme measures, especially with regard to the kingdom of Naples, whose disaffection might at once have been turned into open rebellion had Sixtus chosen to free the Italian subjects of Spain from their allegiance to Philip. But the latter had better and more important grounds for humouring the Pontiff. Contarini, who was Venetian Envoy in Madrid, was often the witness of Philip's outbursts of anger against Rome. 'They so exaggerate their grievances,' he wrote to the Doge, 'that one would think that they want the Pope to be hated by everybody; but though I do not approve all the evil they speak of him, I let them talk, for the more they occupy themselves about him, the less they think of your Serenity's supposed sympathies for the King of Navarre, of which so much was said here.'

The celebrated convent of the nuns of 'las Huelgas,' near Burgos, also gave rise to an angry discussion. In consequence of a visit, which, from his great anxiety for the maintenance of discipline in the religious orders, had been ordered by the King, certain changes had been introduced into the convent. The Pope asked for an official report of the visit, which had been authorised by the Nuncio in Madrid, who withdrew from the

[1] 'Nondimeno qui conoscendosi la natura del papa altiera, come dicono, e volendosi troncare ogni matiera di scandalo e di romore, si va con gran destrezza sollevando i motivi che si fanno e temporeggiando i disordini che succedono.' — Tomaso Contarini to the Doge. Madrid, December 18, 1589. Arch. Ven. Disp. Espagne, fil. 21.

Bishop of Osma the authorisation he had given him for the purpose. The King was much displeased, and informed the Nuncio that he would not receive him any longer in private audience, except in cases of special importance, and that for all other business he should address him in writing. On the other hand Sixtus V. declared the visit to be null and void.[1]

The abbreviator (Secretary of the Nuncio), on whom the dignity of king's chaplain had been conferred, believing that he would have some credit in the eyes of the Pope for doing so, conceived the unfortunate idea of informing the Papal Government of the appointment. The answer came back in the form of an order that the Nuncio should at once withdraw that honour from him.

The King bore all this ill-treatment in silence, but the Court and the town were much annoyed.

Such was in ecclesiastical matters the nature of the relations between Sixtus V. and Philip II. If a complete rupture was not declared, it was owing to the King's prudence and to the similarity of the interests of both. This solidarity of interests, which is always the strongest possible link whenever the interests in question are not intrusted to madmen, allowed Sixtus to act as he pleased, and Philip to endure everything without loss of dignity. He could even blame his ambassador when the latter asked, not for a breaking off of relations with Rome, but for the humiliation of the Pope and the convocation of a General Council

[1] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, July 1, 1589. T. Contarini, Madrid, February 3, 1589.

which should deal with all Church matters, and depose the Pope who was so little inclined to Spain, or at least paralyse his liberty of action, which was so important and so much to be dreaded at a time when France was engaged in so deadly a struggle. From his own point of view, Olivarès was not mistaken as to the Pope's object, for, we repeat it, he did not want a schism; but he was deceived as to the measures which he advised the King to adopt, and which that sovereign was wise enough to repudiate. Among sovereigns, as among individuals, there are no more inconvenient links than those which are formed by a similarity of interests combined with incompatibility of temper. Such links become insupportable chains which a man may long and yet not dare to break, because he knows that to break them is to lose himself. It then almost always happens that one of the parties so linked adopts a high tone, while the other maintains silence. The one appears to be the master, the other the slave; but in reality both are equally strong, because both are equally powerless in throwing off the yoke which constitutes at the same time their security and their martyrdom. Sixtus V. concealed no after-thought. He only wished the good of the Church. Philip's wishes were of a more complex nature. He aimed at the maintenance of the Catholic religion, which had become the moral basis of his power. He also aimed at satisfying his ambition, which was not inordinate, but necessarily unlimited, if only because his interests were mixed up with those of the Church whose mission is to conquer the universe. The Pope and the King

wanted the same thing; they both wished for unity of faith. Sixtus saw in it the triumph of the Church in the world, and Philip the establishment of a universal monarchy under the sceptre of one of his family. In analysing the relations between these two men, we are struck by a curious contrast,—on the one side, too passionate a nature, too impetuous a character, a complete absence of tact or manner; and on the other a calm, prudent, and dignified attitude. In this respect the comparison is all in Philip's favour. But the case is reversed when matters are sifted to the bottom. The ambition of Sixtus was the sense of his first duty; that of the King, a dream which circumstances can explain, which history notes, and should condemn if illusions and errors of judgment were not open to indulgent criticism.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

WE have already spoken of the great position which the Society of Jesus held in the Catholic world.[1] 'It is marvellous,' Montaigne writes in his journal at Rome, 'how great is the part which that society plays in the Christian world, and I believe there never was an association or corporation among us which ever held such a rank, or produced such results as these will effect if they persevere in their designs. They will soon have power over the whole of Christendom. It is a nursery of men great in every kind of greatness. It is the body among all our orders that most threatens the heretics of our day.' 'In the matter of doctrine and worth,' wrote Tiepolo on his return from his embassy to Pius V. and Gregory XIII., 'the Jesuits hold the first place among all the religious orders.' 'Those fathers,' wrote the Tuscan ambassador to the Grand-Duke Francis, 'are the sinews of our religion.'

Such was the prevalent opinion. It was based upon successes, the marvellous character of which no one could contest, but which are easily explained. The

[1] 'Historia Societatis Jesu, quinta pars' (Romæ, 1661). Tiepolo, 1576. Alberti, 1587. Lenzoni, 1589. Montaigne, 'Journal de son voyage en Italie.' Avissi, 1588. Babbi, 1585.

reactionary movement which followed the Reformation had given birth to the order at the very time that a change in the world had taken place.

The Protestant religion had succeeded in England and in Scandinavia, and the sovereigns of both these countries were Protestants. In Germany the 'recess' of Augsburg (1555) had legitimised all the conquests of the Reformation. The freedom of individual judgment in matters of religion, which had been recognised in principle, was granted in reality only to those who had vindicated their right to it by the power of the sword, to sovereign princes, free towns, and 'immediate' nobles. The 'confession' of Augsburg, which has also been called the 'peace of religion at Augsburg,' proclaimed the monstrous principle, contrary also to the liberty of conscience which it sought to establish, that subjects were to follow the religion of their territorial chief—'cujus regio ejus religio.' When a prince or a free town, or an 'immediate' noble, adopted the Reformed creed, his subjects were obliged to do the same, or to migrate and sell their property. The double link of spiritual and temporal unity was broken. Until then, that unity had constituted the basis of the Christian world. It is true that political unity under the sceptre of the Emperor had long ceased to exist. It had never even been completely realised, but the kingdoms which had been formed outside of the Empire had all remained within the obedience of the Church. The citizen who denied that obedience was *ipso facto* banished from society, became an outlaw, and was exposed to prosecution by the ecclesiastical authorities, who could always

depend upon the co-operation of the civil authorities. The curate in his parish, and the religious orders on a vaster field, combated heresy in the confessional and in the pulpit, while theologians carried on the war by their writings, and from their professorial chairs in those universities in which Catholic doctrines were exclusively taught. Whenever a religious teacher met with opposition, he called for the help of the civil power, and in the event of resistance the prefect could call for the intervention of the police or of the soldiery. Henceforth division existed not only among individuals but in the State itself. To oppose the enemy there was no longer the secular power to depend upon, which in half of Europe belonged precisely to the opposite side. It was necessary to adopt new measures and a new mode of proceeding. Attention must be paid to altered times and circumstances. The state of the country in which a man resided was to be taken into consideration, as well as a study to be made of men and things. It was necessary to know how to temporise, to take the offensive, to choose the time when to act and when to expect, to take a comprehensive view of the situation, not to give in in matters of principle, but to make great allowances for circumstances. This mission of the counter-reaction offers some resemblance to the activity of the diplomatist as compared with that of the administrator. The establishment of Protestantism in Germany, in England, and in the Scandinavian States, and the religious peace of Augsburg, had changed the aspect of the world. The most radical revolution that Europe had seen since the introduction of Christianity

had taken place, and created a totally new position of affairs. It required on the part of the defenders of the Church new tactics, a new strategy, new arms, and fresh combatants. Is it therefore surprising that the great monastic orders of the Middle Ages, which had been formed under other circumstances, should, though still full of life, be unequal to their task? It was evident that to cope with totally new difficulties entirely new elements were necessary. Out of this necessity was born the Society of Jesus. To its organisation, and to the remarkable men that enlisted in its ranks, the order owed its great success. By its organisation it became a powerful instrument in the hands of its chiefs, and those chiefs were eminent men, such as a great crisis ever produces; for a crisis stirs up society, calls forth its latent strength, brings it to the rescue of an idea, attracts, inflames, carries it on, and discovers the seductive prospects of success. At such moments, which history from time to time recalls, men come forth from the ranks of the multitude, who display, either in the cause of good or of evil, faculties of an extraordinary power, astonish the world by the greatness of their efforts, after surprising it by the boldness of their conceptions. In the midst of this struggle between convictions, if only they are sincere, genius starts up, the fire of enthusiasm is lit, and the power of intelligence, strength of mind, and firmness of character shine forth. Then are great men born and great things done. Other changes take place in the life of a people, which are attempted and achieved under false pretences by actors who simulate an enthusiasm which

they cannot experience, who cover their interested motives under the mask of high-sounding phrases, who are surrounded by accomplices and followed by a crowd of dupes, able only to destroy, and remarkable for the absence of either genius or virtues, but who also astonish the world, inasmuch as the world wonders how such small people could produce such evil results. This was not the case in the struggles of the sixteenth century. It cannot be denied that in the Protestant camp there were, side by side with interested motives, sincere and deep convictions.

The Reformation began the attack. The Catholic world, taken unawares, armed hastily. On both sides the struggle was carried on with extreme ardour. The arsenals of the Middle Ages were empty, or, if arms remained, the arquebuse and the ordinary gun were no longer sufficient. More powerful engines of war were required, and these were the Jesuits. They entered the ranks armed with piety, with knowledge, and especially with obedience. They were disciplined and capable of holding their own against the great Protestant Reformers. Hence their success, the ever-increasing esteem in which they were held, and the support which the Popes gave them.

Sixtus V. alone was cold and reserved towards them. The prestige of the incipient order, and the prerogatives which it owed to Paul III., had excited jealousy, and wounded many susceptibilities, as well as created much envy. It was especially among the other religious orders that the fathers of the Society of Jesus had many and powerful adversaries. Sixtus V.,

the old friar, also objected to some of the rules of Ignatius, which were so different from those of other monastic institutions, and so contrary to his ideas, his tastes and ordinary habits. In the first years of his pontificate, however, he did not show his dislike by any outward act, recognised on various occasions the merits of the order, and once even took up its defence. Some of the fathers were much liked by him. The celebrated Padre Toledo, 'that rare man,' as Montaigne says, 'profound in learning and in character,' continued, as in the time of Gregory, to preach often at the Vatican in the Sala Costantina. But these were exceptions. Some remarks of the Holy Father respecting them made men reflect. Thus he had scarcely ascended the pontifical throne when, to meet certain pressing wants, he suppressed the pensions which had been granted by his predecessor to certain colleges in Rome and in Italy, and exhorted the fathers who had charge of these colleges to be patient; adding that he could not, as far as the Jesuits were concerned, have any regret, for they were rich enough. The order, spread as it was throughout the world, was naturally influenced by the political and religious state of the various countries. In Germany, where religious difficulties were scarcely and very imperfectly ended, where peace between the several creeds was more like a truce upon which no dependence could be placed, the Jesuits were looked upon by the Catholic princes as the spiritual staff of their army, and by the Catholic populations as the rampart of the faith. Princes and people equally

favoured the society, followed anxiously its strategic movements, and blended their own interests with theirs, since they both fought for the same cause.

In Spain and in Italy, however, their position was very different. There the dangers of the Reformation, which had given rise to the order, had disappeared, or were no longer threatening. The religious innovations of Germany and of the South of France had for a time threatened to invade both peninsulas; but, thanks to repressive measures of extreme severity, thanks also to the Pyrenees, which even now-a-days railways have not been able to level, Spain had maintained its unity of faith. By less violent, though not less efficacious means, Rome had also succeeded in averting the danger from Italy. The anxious times of the Council of Trent had gone by; the suits instituted against high dignitaries of the Church accused of heresy had ceased. But, although men no longer felt the vague fears which made Cardinal Morone exclaim, 'It is all up with the Catholic religion!' all signs of danger had not really disappeared. If Dauphiné remained in the hands of the Huguenots, if Saluzzo were delivered up to them, if the Reformation should be established in Styria and in Carniola, and if it became mistress of the Alpine passes, Italy would again be exposed to the invasion of heresy. But things had not come to such a pass. In Madrid and in Rome there was in this respect a degree of security which was unknown to the two preceding generations, and such security made men forget the merit of those to whom mostly it was due. In both countries there was, side by side

with the great majority of those who favoured the Jesuits, a party that was opposed to them. The Dominicans in Spain were at the head of the latter, so were the King and Inquisition, but only to a certain degree, and for other reasons. In Italy their principal opponents were the old monastic orders, who were jealous of their prerogatives, of their successes, and of their officially declared intention to persevere in the new line they had traced for themselves. Underhand struggles took place, but the Jesuits, with the support of the Head of the Church and of Catholic opinion, which was in their favour, always got the best of it. The first real blow which they received was in Spain.

Charles V. did not like them. His antipathy, however, came only from his dislike to all innovations. Philip II. never forgave them the great influence they had exercised in Portugal under the two last kings, and which they still retained. The Inquisition complained that the General and Superiors of the order enjoyed too much power over the other members of the society. It was in the eyes of the Inquisition an encroachment upon its prerogatives, and in those of the King a means of depriving him of the influence and control which he believed himself called upon to exercise over the clergy in general. He therefore embraced the cause of the Inquisition against the Jesuits, and instructed Olivarès to demand that the regulations of Ignatius should be revised. He also insisted upon a Provincial being appointed for Spain. It would be the means of weakening the influence of the General of the order, who resided in Rome, and

therefore of strengthening his own. Another complaint referred to the refusal of the Spanish Jesuits to accept the bull of the 'cruzada.' They refused to profit by the dispensations and favours which it conferred, but were ready to pay the money which was to be given in return. After personally listening to the objections of Padre Acquaviva, then General of the order, Sixtus V. referred the matter for consideration to the cardinals of the Holy Office, who gave their decision in favour of the Jesuits, and offered to make known their decision themselves to the Archbishop of Toledo; but the Pope preferred diplomatic communications, and instructed his Nuncio in Madrid to dismiss the petition of the Inquisition. Through the intervention of the Pope, who found that the Spanish pretensions were as much an attempt against the rights of the Holy See as against the privileges of the society, the storm was allayed.

At the Gesù men had begun to breathe freely, when serious intelligence arrived from Spain. The Inquisition had ordered the colleges of the order to remit into its hands all the copies of their constitution. One of the rectors, Padre de Villagarzoni, a celebrated preacher, having refused, was arrested and thrown into prison. Other fathers who were slow in obeying the order shared the same fate. Meantime the King issued an ordinance forbidding any Jesuit to leave the kingdom without his authority. This was indirectly depriving the General of the company of the power of disposing of the members of the society, and in this case of calling to Rome some of the fathers who had

been gained over by court influence and who openly spoke in favour of the pretensions of the Inquisition.

At Rome Olivarès became the spokesman of the Inquisition. Backed by the peremptory orders of his sovereign, he never ceased to importune Sixtus V., who, though he complained, still listened to the ambassador. It was soon perceived that his inclinations, which had never been very favourable to the Jesuits, were positively against them. About a year before his death he called for Cardinal Caraffa, and requested him to examine the rules of their society, pointing out to him at the same time what points needed revision. These points were the too extensive powers of the General and Superiors of the order, the appointment by the General and Assisting Fathers, and not by the Chapter as in other communities, to the various dignities of the order, the numerous degrees in the order, the name of the order, the too long duration of the novitiate, the fraternal corrections and blind obedience, &c. He also regretted that the Jesuits had no choir.

To all these accusations against the founder of his order, the able and courageous Padre Acquaviva replied by arguments which carried the Sacred College in his favour. He succeeded in converting to his cause the most important member, Cardinal Caraffa himself, but could do nothing with the Holy Father.

Through him colleges abroad had been informed of the danger which threatened them. The echo of their complaints was soon heard from every part of Europe. Everywhere, but nowhere so much as in Germany, the event caused a deep sensation. The

Catholic princes of the Empire, Duke William of Bavaria, King Sigismund of Poland, archbishops, prelates, zealous noblemen, all remonstrated with the Pontiff, and implored him not to destroy an order which was so useful both in defending the faith and attacking its enemies, and which was so indispensable at that time. The Emperor, whose Council was entirely devoted to the company, was asked by the German princes to join in their representations, but he declined any interference. All his sympathies, he said, were for the Jesuits; but, as the question was for the Pope's decision, it must be left with him. Cardinal Madruccio was, however, authorised to support in Rome the steps taken on behalf of the order. The protestation was therefore universal. It came from the north, from those countries of which Protestantism had half possessed itself, and was directed against the Superiors of the great monastic orders, against the Catholic King, and in a certain measure against the Pope himself—a curious state of things, by which Sixtus V. and Philip II., who were the chief defenders of the faith, seemed, according to the testimony of the society's apologists to have gone astray, being deceived as to the true nature of things, and having lost sight of what was essential in order to look to secondary matters—the one forgetting that he was Pope, and remembering only that he had been a monk; the other wanting to act as Pope. Thus the German princes seemed, through their intervention, to compromise the very cause which they wished to serve, and to which Padre Acquaviva alone remained faithful,

fighting courageously for the rules, that is for the very existence of his order, which he could not, however, have saved if fate had not served him.

Sixtus V., who was indignant that civilians should interfere with purely ecclesiastical matters, merely answered that he did not intend to do away with the order, nor even modify its constitution, but wished to correct its defects. These corrections certainly went far. To deprive a society of its principal rules is to destroy it. To deprive it of its name is to confirm its demise. If from the rules of St. Ignatius Loyola, those of blind obedience and the powers of the Superiors were cut off, the society would be levelled to the position of other orders, which were found to be inadequate to cope with the new evil. In other words, the precious instrument would be broken which force of circumstances and the necessities of the moment had created, and which had rendered, and could still render, such important services.

Meanwhile in Rome the current of public opinion was daily becoming more favourable to the Jesuits. Even Cardinal Caraffa tried to save them by prolonging the inquest. The Pope perceived it. 'You wish to gain time,' he said, 'but you are mistaken. Our decision is formed: we shall soon make it known.' He withdrew his commission, and transferred it to the Congregation of the Cardinals of the Holy Office, with orders that the final decision should be drawn up by four theologians.

While this was going on, an incident which was much to be regretted by those in favour of the order

took place in Spain, and was notified by the Nuncio in Madrid. The reader has seen how high party spirit ran against the Pope in that capital. His quarrels with the King, and his supposed sympathy with Henry of Navarre, had produced a great effervescence of public spirit, which Philip's ministers took care not to allay. Everywhere, in the streets, at the 'Puerta del Sol,' at the 'tertulias,' in the ante-rooms of the grandees, there were loud cries against the Pope and the Government of Venice, which was likewise supposed to favour 'the Béarnais.' Even from the pulpit there were preachers who dared to attack the Pope most violently. A young Jesuit—one of those 'enfants terribles' who are never wanting, whether in religious communities or in families—Padre Juan Geronimo, ventured to use these words while preaching: 'Cry, oh! cry, all of you, for a republic, princes, a Pope . . (then placing his finger on his mouth) but hush! hush! . . . all favour and help the heretical King of Navarre.'

The Pope was furious. He told the fact to Badoer, the Venetian envoy, who, in his report to the Doge, added 'that he tried as much as possible to excite the Pope's anger against those preachers, upon whom, in the times they were in, it was even more necessary to keep a sharp look-out than on the forces of a declared enemy.'[1] The commotion which this incident produced in the diplomatic circle of Madrid may be conceived. The rector of the college threw himself at the feet of the Venetian envoy; the indiscreet preacher

[1] A. Badoer, July 28, 1590.

made a written and verbal apology; and Contarini, on writing to the Doge, declared himself satisfied with the repentance of the culprit, and especially with the conduct of the rector and of the other fathers. But the Pope was not so easily appeased. He ordered Padre Acquaviva to send for Padre Juan, intending to punish him as he deserved. He even went so far as to ask whether the Jesuits had become the enemies of the Gospel! In a Consistory which he held a fortnight before his death, on August 13, he thus spoke of the incident: 'To mention it is to increase our sorrow. Matters have come to such a pass that in Madrid a father of the Society actually accused us of being a promoter of heresy.'[1] He then passed in review the day, the place, and occasion on which these words had been uttered, and the person who had spoken them. To preach such things at such a time was to give scandal and to speak against facts, for since the death of Henry III., as before that event, he (the Pope) had done his utmost to extirpate heresy from France. A man who held that the Holy Father could favour heresy could not be a Catholic; for if the Pope, who is the head of the Catholics, favoured heresy, then he would cease to be Pope; but by the express avowal of all the Fathers of the Church and of the Councils, the solution of the question whether the Pope is Pope belongs to God alone, and he who maintains the contrary cannot be a Catholic. He quoted, in support of his opinion, the words of the Council which declared

[1] 'Decifrado: lo que passó en el consistorio de los 13 de agosto de 1590.'

to Pope Marcellus: 'Tuo te ore condemnas,' and 'Suprema sedes a nemine judicatur.' The aid of the Holy Ghost having been promised to the Popes, they could not be promoters of heresy. And it was clear from the words: '*Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua*,' and '*Ego ero vobiscum usque ad consummationem sæculi.*' After many other quotations from the Scriptures, he at last came to an examination of the character of the person who had accused him of heresy. It was, he said, a father of the Society of Jesus, which was under such obligations to the Holy See, and to him particularly that he could justly say that it was a viper which he had fostered. He was, however, happy to say that there were a great many good men in that order, and that some of the fathers had taken a great part in the recent conversion of the Margrave of Baden. Then he broke forth against Philip. 'And where,' he exclaimed, 'did one dare not only give out, but preach such a calumny? In Madrid—in the Catholic capital of so Christian a prince—without its having even been considered necessary to punish the preacher, whose only penance had been the secret one ordered by his rector of making him eat in private, so as to secure him from the punishments which other tribunals might inflict upon him.' He compared the lukewarmness of the Spanish Court in a matter which so nearly concerned the Head of the Church with the zeal which it habitually displayed in ecclesiastical matters when its own interests were at stake, adding—for sarcasm was seldom left out of his harangues—that the Court would have been

otherwise moved if the Jesuit father had preached against the 'cruzada.'

Then it was that he made his wishes known with respect to the rules of the order. Cardinals Santa Severina and Castagna (the latter was to be Pope within a month) went to see Padre Acquaviva. He received them at the Roman College, and learnt from them the final decision to which the theologians had come, under the direct inspiration of the Pope. On some points Sixtus V. had admitted the observations of the Padre Generale; but on others, and the chief ones (such especially as the name), he would not give in. He insisted that the order should cease to be styled the Society of Jesus. The name, he urged, was prejudicial to other religious institutions, and to the faithful in general. It was not proper, as the holy name of Jesus might be dragged before a tribunal; nor convenient, because each time the name of the society was brought into conversation, the respectful and pious would have to leave their occupation, make the sign of the cross, and uncover. Padre Acquaviva saw that all further resistance was useless, and promised that he would forbid the members of the society henceforth to call themselves by their present name.

From regard, perhaps, for those princes who had interceded in favour of the society, the Pope asked that, in the decree abolishing the name, the General should make no mention of his intervention, and that the document should bear a date anterior to that of the decision. But this Padre Acquaviva steadfastly refused to do. His conscience did not allow him, of

his own accord, to violate the rules laid down by the founder of his order : he submitted, as was his duty, to the wishes of the Head of the Church, but such an act of submission, which alone could justify his conduct, must be inscribed in the Circular. These arguments were unanswerable, and the two cardinals did not insist. The General prepared his decree, and though ordered to present it without delay, he asked that it might be first submitted to the Pope, for the approval of His Holiness. This was at the beginning of August. On the 27th Sixtus V. died. The document was found among his papers. It has never seen the light of day. The Jesuits kept their name and their rules ; and Gregory XIV., who ascended the Pontifical throne at the end of the year, hastened to confirm the institutions of St. Ignatius Loyola.

CHAPTER IV.

CHANGES IN THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

SINCE the election of Sixtus V., death had caused many vacancies among the cardinals. Sirletto only survived a few months his disappointed expectations, but left behind him the reputation of a real saint, as well as universal regret, besides a few debts, which his unlimited charity had caused him to incur, and a fine library, which Olivarès wished to purchase, but which the Pope bought for the Vatican.[1]

In Cardinal Cessi, who died a year after Sirletto, the Pope lost one of the few friends he had in the Sacred College; Donna Camilla, a useful adviser and a friend, ever disposed to recommend that her brother should be liberal towards her; and the Court of Tuscany one of its most devoted adherents.[2]

Cardinal d'Este, who had been long ailing, was occupied in the service of his king, and was dictating a letter to M. de Villeroy, when he felt the approach of death.[3] Having received the sacrament during the night, he at

[1] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, October 7, 1585.

[2] Gritti to the Doge, October 4, 1586.

[3] Cardinal d'Este to Villeroy, December 30, 1586. There is no signature to the letter, but the Secretary added as a postscript, 'The accident which occurred to the cardinal my master, whom God absolve, ended fatally this day, December 31.'

daybreak called for Pisany, to tell him, as he was breathing his last, that in him the King lost a good and faithful servant.[1] He was only forty-seven years of age. This premature death, though foreseen, not only deprived Henry III. of a tried friend, and of the only support he had at Rome, but created a vacancy in the Sacred College which it was difficult to fill.

Cardinal de Joyeuse took the place of Cardinal d'Este as Protector of France. He had been made cardinal by Gregory XIII., and owed the honour to the favour in which his brother, the Duc de Joyeuse, was held by Henry III. On arriving in Rome, several months after the death of his predecessor, he was only twenty-five years of age. In Rome the choice made of him was not liked, because he could not speak the language, and because the cardinal-protectors were always chosen from among the Italian prelates. In the end he was accepted. He was a clever man. His letters prove it even if they were, as often alleged, written by his abbé-secretary, afterwards the celebrated D'Orsat. Joyeuse originated them. His vivacity, his boasting, and his worldliness displeased the Pope, who never lost an opportunity of treating him harshly, of making him feel how little he cared for him and his master; but Sixtus seldom succeeded in intimidating him. When Cardinal de Joyeuse received the news of the death of the Duke, his brother, and of another brother, both killed at the battle of Coutras, he retired to Ostia. The Holy Father ordered him to return and to be pre-

[1] Pisany to Henry III., March 10, 1587.

sent at the ceremonies in the chapel in his red garments, though the other Cardinals were in violet, owing to its being Advent. He told Pisany that mourning was out of place, and that 'the Cardinal ought to be much pleased and thank God that his brother had spent his life in the defence of so just a cause;' but the ambassador found the message somewhat extravagant. The cardinal begged to be excused, and did not appear in chapel.[1] In the consistories this young man dared oppose the old Pontiff, almost always preserved his presence of mind and coolness, and, to the secret delight of the cardinals, often replied wittily to the sarcasms and syllogisms of the Pope. He was neither the soul nor the head, but the spokesman of the Opposition. What a great and celebrated theatre was that upon which these individual combats took place! The most delicate questions were there discussed: the League, the murder of the Guises, the fate of France, the compromised interests of that country, the fate of the Catholic religion there, and the succession to the French throne. The Cardinal was of high stature, with black hair and beard. One of his eyes was blear, which gave him a savage aspect. It is said that later, after the death of Sixtus V., when three Pontiffs had succeeded each other in less than two years, fate would have it that Joyeuse, who was constantly travelling, should arrive in Rome immediately before the death of the Pope. This gave him the reputation of possessing the evil eye, and eligible cardinals were much afraid of him.[2]

[1] Pisany to Henry III., December 1, 1587.

[2] Amayden. 'Summorum Pontificum et omnium Cardinalium elogia.'

The two nephews of Gregory, San Sisto and the camerlingo Guastavillani, who were both still young, died also shortly after their retirement from public life, in which, during their uncle's pontificate, or during the Conclave, they had played a considerable part.

Cardinal Savello, who was so near becoming Pope, and who, with Farnese, was the last survivor of the creatures of Paul III., died, at the age of sixty-five years, on December 5, 1587. He had long been the Pope's vicar, and was buried with great pomp at the Gesù in the chapel which he had built there, and which is now the magnificent chapel of St. Ignatius.

Decio Azzolino also died, being only thirty-eight years old, and a cardinal of two years' standing. Sixtus V. was much grieved at his loss. His former secretary, he wrote under the Pope's direct dictation all the despatches to the Nuncio, and other diplomatic correspondence.

The fatal hour at last came for Farnese, 'the great cardinal,' who was seventy years of age (March 1589). Although in the reign of Sixtus V. Farnese had completely retired into private life, and at the last from all intercourse with the world, his death caused nevertheless a painful sensation in Rome. The Venetian ambassador, Badoer, wrote to the Doge that 'the most illustrious Cardinal Farnese, after having last Tuesday called his treasurer and given orders that 4,000 scudi should be given to the Orphan Hospital, 2,000 to the "converts," and 4,000 to various pious institutions, sat down to breakfast as well and as lively as his state would allow, when in the midst of breakfast he had an

attack of apoplexy. Though consciousness returned, and even gave hope of recovery for a while, a fresh attack took place during the night of Wednesday to Thursday, and since then his state has always gone from bad to worse. He received the sacraments, settled his affairs, and, full of confidence in the Divine mercy, spent his last moments in uninterrupted acts of devotion and piety. On Thursday, towards the twentieth hour, he gave up his soul to his Creator and Redeemer, consoling all present by his edifying death. Thus Rome has lost a cardinal who, from his experience, his judgment, his liberality, his charity to the poor, and his kindness to everyone, had no equal. It is also impossible to describe how universal is the public grief, and how great is the loss for the town and for those impartial men who were able to appreciate the noble and royal qualities of the deceased.'[1] His funeral took place in presence of an immense concourse of people, and, what had never been seen before, forty-two cardinals followed the hearse. His body lies buried at the Gesù, before the high altar. The people attributed his death, we hope wrongly for his own sake, to the grief which he experienced at finding himself deprived, by a general bull concerning governments, of those of Viterbo and other places, which he had held during the two preceding pontificates.

Another vacancy had taken place in the Sacred College, not by the death of a cardinal, but by that of a sovereign. On October 19, 1587, the Grand-Duke

[1] Badoer to the Doge, March 3, 1589.

of Tuscany died, after a short illness. He was at his country house of Pozzo, with his wife Bianca Capello, his brother, the cardinal, who had just arrived from Rome, and the Cardinal of Florence. On October 8, after dinner, he was seized with vomiting and shivering fits. Not wishing, however, to alarm the Grand-Duchess, he played piquet with Ferdinand, took then the fashionable remedy, called the 'bézoard,' and spent the remainder of the afternoon in the drawing-room with his wife, the cardinals, and several noblemen. At the hour of the 'Ave Maria,' he felt worse, and his brother's doctor was called in. He went to bed, took manna in broth, and was twice bled. The doctors believed it to be an attack of 'tierce' fever, occasioned by an indigestion after eating mushrooms. The doctors, who were four in number, treated the illness according to the ideas of the day, by administering emetics and purgatives, and by bleeding him. The Nuncio, who gave all these details to the Pope, began to fear a fatal termination. The treatment of the patient, who was notwithstanding allowed to continue eating ices, justified such sinister forebodings. The Grand-Duke, however, continued to work with his secretaries of state. On October 18, he sent for his confessor from Florence, received the sacraments, and died on the following day at about the nineteenth hour. Bianca Capello, who was ill a few days, died on October 20, and Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici ascended the throne of Tuscany. At Florence the people maintained that he had been poisoned, and that the Grand-Duchess had given him, by mistake, the poison which was destined for the

Cardinal. This story was not believed by those who mixed in the official circles, and who knew better the nature of the relations between Bianca and her brother-in-law. It is, however, remarkable that such an imputation could be laid to her charge.

The Pope was at supper, talking familiarly with his friends, when Monsignor Sangaletto entered the dining-room and announced the Tuscan envoy. Sixtus guessed what was the matter, and, being told of what had occurred by his private cameriere, burst into tears. Monsignor Alberti was at once admitted, and notified the decease of his sovereign at the same time that he announced the peaceful accession of the Cardinal. The Holy Father's grief was sincere and well founded. He lost in the Grand-Duke a tried friend, who had extended a hand to him during the worst days in his life, and had in a thousand ways made himself agreeable to him during his pontificate. Francis was wont to communicate to him the news from the various Courts: kept him acquainted with the course of events in Germany, in France, and in Spain—upon which Olivarès, to the Pope's great displeasure, was always silent—showed him endless attention, sent him the early fruits from his garden, and never asked him for money.[1] The question of capturing the brigand Malatesta had at one time clouded their intimacy, but both parties had soon renewed their good relations. The bad sovereign had proved a good friend, and the Pope deeply felt his loss.

[1] Sangaletto to the Grand-Duke, March 10, 1588. Pisany to Henry III., March 7, 1588.

Following on the steps of his father and of his brother, the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, after taking possession of his throne, with a sympathy on the part of his subjects which showed but little enthusiasm, sought his principal support in the person of the Pope. He took great care to ingratiate himself in a quarter so necessary to the fulfilment of his views, and to the game which he intended to play, by turning to his own advantage the antagonism which existed between France and Spain. Sixtus V. had occasional attacks of fever. His supernatural activity, his frequent irritation of temper, his almost perpetual quarrels with the Spanish ambassador, acted as a slow poison upon his powerful constitution, and were altogether to extinguish, at no distant period, the vital strength of the old man. This issue pre-occupied Ferdinand. His good relations with the Pope were a means of gaining for him the confidence of Cardinal Montalto, who was already very devoted to him, and through him, the leader of the reigning Pontiff's creatures, of insuring at the future Conclave the election of a Pope who would prove favourable to his interests. This, at the time of which we are speaking, was his dominant idea. In pursuing it, he displayed the defects and good points of his character. No one could be more amiable when he wished, and he wished to be so and was so with Sixtus V., except when his proud nature caused him to forget the precepts of prudence.

The Pope did not like him. He had at bottom remained a Cordelier monk, and the aristocratic ways, the worldly tastes, and independence of the cardinal-

prince had always displeased him, and he had made de' Medici feel the effects of his displeasure. Whether the Sovereign of Tuscany would remember the disappointments of the cardinal, was a question which the Holy Father had asked himself on hearing of the death of Francis. He, therefore, gracefully accepted his advances, and promised to cultivate his friendship; but he, even more perhaps than Ferdinand, allowed himself to be mastered by his defects of character. There resulted a general good understanding between Rome and Florence, occasionally broken by quarrels of rather violent character, but never of long duration.

The idea of seeing a member of the Sacred College give up the cardinal's hat and the ecclesiastical profession was already painful to Sixtus. That of seeing a prince of the Church marry deeply shocked him, although Ferdinand was only a deacon, and had received the minor orders only. Marriage was forced by state reasons, and the Pope unhesitatingly granted the necessary dispensation, though he did it with a bad grace. To the great displeasure of the Courts of Prague and Madrid, the Grand-Duke was about to marry Princess Christine of Lorraine. The Holy Father, on the contrary, approved the alliance, and had even lent his support in the negotiations which brought it about, though the marriage of one who had been a cardinal was not the less unpalatable to him. His indignation exploded when he learnt that the Grand-Duke was still wearing his purple garments while triumphal arches and porticoes were already being raised at Florence for the solemn entrance of the princess. He called

the Tuscan envoy, and told him that this was scandalous; that his master should send him back his cardinal's hat at once; that he could not allow Europe to laugh and talk on the subject of the nuptials of a cardinal. He forbade the cardinals to go who had been invited to the ceremonies, and among them were Joyeuse and Rusticucci. Ferdinand, who was deeply mortified, wrote a sharp letter to his agent, directing him to read it to the Pope. He ended the letter by saying that it was time His Holiness should cease to look upon him as a cardinal, and should begin to consider him Grand-Duke of Tuscany. Sixtus V. replied in his own handwriting:[1] 'Your ambassador has read me a very long letter, full of vain illusions. So far as it concerns me and my family, I must inform you that what you say is purely chimerical. You possess extensive States and a great people. You would therefore do well to give up innovations, and to occupy yourself with what is much more important. If I tell you these things roughly, believe me it is the great affection I have for you which makes me act thus. I have sent you word about certain matters. Since then I have neither written nor made you speak, because it was sufficient for me to let you know my opinion. I hope, therefore, that you will calm yourself. I have nothing more to say, and wish you all possible good.' The tone of this letter, as that of similar ones, justifies apparently the susceptibility of Ferdinand. Thus on the occasion of the creation of some cardinals Sixtus wrote: 'I shall try and satisfy you, but I do not like your versatility. It

[1] July 25, 1588.

does not appear to me to be well that you should behave with so little respect towards the Holy See.'[1]

After the storm came fine weather. The impetuosity of character which was common to both led them apart for a time, but the similarity of their positions always brought them together again. This intimacy, which no quarrel could break, gave matter for much reflection on the part of the Spanish diplomatists. 'There is nothing exaggerated in the account we give the King,' wrote Sessa to Ydiaquez (August 1, 1590), 'of the bad state in which matters stand here, and of the Pope's bad behaviour. On the contrary, we write in measured terms. He is extremely intimate with the Venetians and with the Grand-Duke, who loses no opportunity of gaining favour and consolidating his credit in Rome, as regards not only ecclesiastical but also temporal affairs. He aims at standing well with the present Pope as well as with the next, in order that the Pope who shall succeed may be as favourable to him as the present, if not more so.' Of the two, the one most interested in keeping up good relations was the Grand-Duke, but the Pope considered them desirable. He appreciated all the worth of Ferdinand, who was far cleverer than his brother, and took advantage of it when practicable.

He understood of course that the Grand-Duke was a different man from what the cardinal had been; that defects in a Sacred College might become virtues on a throne, and that clearly a crown better suited Ferdinand's head than did a cardinal's hat.[2]

[1] December 5, 1587.

[2] Gritti, 1588. Badoer, March 12, 1589. Lippomano, January 20, 1588. Pisany, November, 1587. Nicolini, November 25, 1588.

By the death of Savello, the vicarship of the Church had become vacant. It was an excellent opportunity for getting rid of Rusticucci. That cardinal, it may be remembered, had boasted on the election of Sixtus V. that he would govern the State under the sceptre of the 'good old man.' He had, on the contrary, been obliged to submit to the humiliation of being left in ignorance of the affairs of the department of which he was the head. He exchanged it for the vicarship of the Church, which the Pope hastened to offer to him, left the Vatican and established himself in the palace he had lately built on the Piazza St. Peter. The foreign affairs were given to young Montalto. Azzolino, before his death, had placed in his hands the charge of the department over which he had presided, so that this child was, in virtue of the two offices he held, practically at the head of the temporal Government. Yet the storm was gathering everywhere, and the sky was getting darker and darker. Speaking with a cardinal a year before his death, Sixtus V. said: 'I am much concerned that all the princes of the earth are against us.' He looked upon France as lost to the Church, and dreaded the disappointments which his other enemies were preparing for him, and complained bitterly of Spain. He astonished his interlocutor by the bitterness of his remarks against Philip II., the Spanish nation, and the little respect they showed the Holy Father. Of the Emperor he said that he wanted good advice, and that in the affairs of Poland he had almost destroyed the good effects of the Legate's laborious endeavours. The Duke of Savoy had turned against

him because he had refused to give him pecuniary help for his expedition against Geneva. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany (they were at that moment at feud) no longer communicated to him the news from abroad. Ferrara was ill-disposed, and Mantua not satisfied. Even Venice was not behaving well in the matter of the Slavonian barques, so that he foresaw the time when he would be obliged to break off relations with Venice.

These dark prospects preoccupied him, as he confessed, but did not frighten him. It is perhaps an unprecedented fact that an old man of nearly seventy and a young man barely sixteen years of age should have held, at the same time, the reins of the State, should have satisfied the wants of the moment, and been equal to their task; the one by his clear intellect, his strength of will, his courage, and the other by a devotion which was equal to the tenderness of which he was the object, by a reserve and a discretion which nothing could change, and by an attention to business surprisingly great for so young a man. In his dealings with the representatives of the great courts, the Pope naturally could not make use of his grand-nephew. He then had recourse to the intervention of various cardinals, especially of Santa Severina, of Gesualdo, and of Aragon. But these cases were rare, for to the last days of his life he saw the ambassadors himself. When the latter asked young Montalto to speak to his uncle about their affairs, he mildly declined, saying that he dared not do so, but assured them of his kind disposition towards their sovereign. His silence was only equal to his politeness, and at a later time to his

taste for the arts, his Christian virtues, and his piety. The young Secretary of State, whose old clothes had shocked the Venetian ambassador when he saw him for the first time in the humble abode of Donna Camilla, was fond of dress, wore his purple gown gracefully, did not disdain a good table, and was rather effeminate.

Some instructions, which were to guide the young cardinal, and which were supposed to have been written for that purpose, have been preserved. They define the duties of the Pope, of the Sacred College, of the Cardinal-nephew, and give certain details respecting the manner in which men should be treated and affairs conducted. The whole is mixed up with general maxims. Here are some respecting sovereigns and their representatives: 'Princes are proud, ambitious of acquiring territory and glory, and are jealous of the progress which others are capable of making. They like to be feared, do not stand reproach or freedom of expression, and never allow that they are in the wrong, although it be evident that they are. They raise many pretensions, which are not always justified, and are often illusive. They are afraid of a snare and of the fall of their power. They are suspicious of one another; watch each other jealously, observe each other's movements, especially when they are neighbours. Any concession of privileges, titles, help, or favour bestowed upon one causes the others to ask for similar favours. A refusal offends them, and even a little difficulty in the way or a slight hesitation is sufficient to wound their susceptibility. They seldom give proof of attachment or of

confidence. Few people exercise an influence over them. They look to their interests, are often obliged to feign and to dissemble, and are profuse in their protestations of devotion to the Holy See. They become allied and "disally," according to what suits them best individually. The ill-luck which attends others is not always displeasing to them. On the contrary, they profit by it to acquire for themselves and to increase the loss of others. They do not run after doubtful or distant success, nor even after that which it is difficult and expensive to obtain, and they object to referring to the arbitration of other princes. Interviews among them are not productive of friendship, but sometimes of spite and dissensions. They like excess in everything, and lend a willing ear to those who flatter them by exaggerating their greatness. They like to exhibit their power, and wish to appear liberal. They like presents, especially rare things or those of a perfect workmanship or useful for the preservation of life. They believe themselves free to do anything, when it is a question of adding to their power. . . . Ambassadors are generally able, sagacious, and insinuating men, who can talk well, are amiable in conversation, prudent when it is necessary to adopt a sudden plan, courageous in replying and in resisting, and indefatigable with their pen. They seek to know where affection lies, where hatreds exist, where lie the strength and purpose of the Prince and his Court. They observe everything, and, with the aid of conjectures and slight indications, they smell and rout out important facts. They take great notice of those who

give information, and seek to get at news by every means. In other courts their sole occupation is to increase the influence and consideration of their sovereign; but in Rome, which is a Republic common to all, they also look to their private interests. They like to be considered faithful to their masters and agreeable to the prince at whose court they reside. If there are several ambassadors, the same emulation exists among them that exists among the princes, and in Rome they always have an eye to the future.'

The young Cardinal is then recommended to avoid, as so many dangers, frequent and intimate conversations with many people, especially with public and inquisitive men; 'for we thereby give them the opportunity of observing and of penetrating a secret; besides, such familiarity is not in accordance with that dignity which you should maintain in their presence. Even before our servants too much kindness is often misplaced; for, if useful occasionally, it gives rise oftener to serious inconveniences. To great people we must communicate those motives which have made us act, but to the others it is only necessary to communicate our decisions. It is well to listen patiently to a long statement. It gives one time to reflect over the answers to be returned, and pleases the speaker, for everyone likes to be listened to. It is most useful to note afterwards the essential points of the conversation. We have heard it said that Queen Catharine of Poland did it. On leaving an audience or the Prince's closet we must be careful, even should we have cause to be displeased, not to change countenance, and to preserve our cus-

tomary look. It is the means by which we prevent the person to whom we talk or those who see us coming out, from penetrating our thoughts.'

'He who does not cease to reflect does not begin to act.' . . . 'It is in the interest of the Pope and in yours, to keep an eye open upon his intimate and favourite servants, to conciliate them, or to maintain them in their fidelity.' . . . 'Choose well your time when you want to transact business with the Pope. Do not importune him. Begin by the easy and pleasant things, then go on to the most serious ones requiring an immediate solution.'

Here is a picture of Rome drawn by Sixtus V.: 'The Court of Rome is the rendezvous and the common fatherland of all the Christian nations. Each has a share in it, each person can go there, hope, and aspire to all the honours which are conferred there, even that of the pontificate. The authority of princes is important for Rome, and so far as they are concerned private sympathies and likings are divided there. In consequence of this participation of everyone in the affairs of the State, the form of the government is that of a republic, dependent, however, upon the supreme and absolute regal authority of the Pope. In Rome a man succeeds by great virtue, by nobility, by servitude, by money, by favour, and by other means. Patience is encouraged by hope, which is a solid support, since it survives other disappointments. Much speculation goes on as to the frequent mutations in office and changeable favours of those who are in power. That is the only kind of perseverance to be met with in Rome,

which is full of cleverness and talent, but which knows more than it should. Rome is rich in livings, in great employments, in activity, in splendour, and is dear even to foreigners who are not yet tainted with heresy. Rome detests war at home and against her. She hates it less when others wage it. She likes the changes to which the government and the powers of each are liable, and does not like stability. Friendships are easily made, but as easily undone. It is with the Romans as with ships, that change their course according to the wind. True friends are rare. Rome is insinuating, courteous, grand in her promises, ready to help, but dexterous in avoiding an engagement, and prompt in demolishing. Owing to the frequent changes, each person must be taken into account, and, as the Pope's friends and servants are numerous, the customs and aspect of Rome change somewhat with the character of the new pontiff; but at bottom Rome is always Rome. She is anxious and curious to know what goes on in the world, sagacious and often quick-sighted as to the future, which is the constant object of all her thoughts.'[1]

[1] Istruzioni al cardinale Montalto. I found copies of these instructions, bearing the date of the 17th century, in the state archives at Florence, 'Carte Strozzane,' 368, and in the MS. collection of the late Prince de Santa Croce, in Rome. They were printed in the Tesoro Politico, Vicenza, 1602—that is, only twelve years after the death of the Pope. Is that document authentic? I cannot assert it. What is undoubted is that it bears the mark of the character of Sixtus V., and recalls even phrases employed by him when speaking to ambassadors, and which the latter quoted in their reports. If he is not the author of these instructions, he very probably inspired them; or perhaps one of his followers may have collected under that form what he had heard fall from the lips of his master.

PART THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

FEUDAL ROME AND ROME OF THE RENAISSANCE.

The reorganisation of the government of souls, which we described at the outset of the preceding book, could only be appreciated by the generations which followed, when experience had shown the value of the innovations introduced by Sixtus the Fifth. The political action of that Pope, the great part which we shall show him to have taken in the solution of the vital questions which were then agitating France, were wrapped in a secrecy which during his life only a few of his contemporaries—members of the Sacred College, or a few public men of eminence—were allowed to share.

What, in the eyes of the people, served to envelop Sixtus, even during his pontificate, in a halo of glory, which has not yet faded, were, besides his re-establishment of public security, the immense works which he promoted. Is it necessary to say that a mere list of these works could not give the reader a just idea of their importance or of their value? We must take a

rapid glance at the development of art, and especially of architecture, during the preceding period—that is, since Rome had risen from her ashes—and at the aspect of the town; and to this digression we must add another. Before speaking of France, we must pass in review the social life of those who occupy the principal part in our narrative.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the great masters of the seventeenth, whose taste was not to equal that of the creative geniuses of the earlier age, had not yet imprinted on the capital of Christendom that character of bold, exaggerated, and whimsical magnificence which it has preserved ever since. Since the reigns of Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Alexander VI., however, the modern ideas, which are essentially methodical and love the straight line, had broken in upon the chaos of gigantic remains of the old world and mean-looking dwellings of a poverty-stricken population.[1]

The state in which the Popes found Rome on their return from Avignon is well known. Fields, vine-

[1] Paul II. set the example by rectifying the Corso from the arch of Portugal, near the Palazzo Fiano, to his palace of San Marco (now the Austrian Embassy). Sixtus IV. undertook the reconstruction of Rome on a large scale, pulled down a number of obscure porticoes, enlarged and paved many piazzas and streets (Opusculum de mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ, auctore Francisco Albertino Florentino: Romæ, 1515). Alexander VI. had the Via Alessandrina straightened (Borgo-nuovo); Julius II. laid out the Via Giulia; Leo X. the Leonina, now called the Ripetta; Pius IV. the Via Pia, which Sixtus V. finished; Paul III. the Via Paolina and that of Ara Cœli; Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew of Pius V., the Via Alessandrina, which leads from the Forum of Trajan to the Temple of Peace; Gregory XIII. the Via Gregoriana, which leads to the Pincio; and Sixtus V. the five great roads across the Monti, of which we will speak.

yards, pasture lands had invaded the residence of the Cæsars. The hills which now form the 'Monti' quarter, the Aventine quarter, the richest of Rome in the time of the Teutonic emperors, the thermæ, the pilasters and vaults of the Palatine, the Colosseum, which had all been more or less turned by the feudal barons into embattled fortresses, the Pantheon, and a few standing columns, alone spoke of its past grandeur. The venerable basilicas and a few isolated convents alone told of the decay of Christianity, which was so near leaving a spot doomed, as it seemed, to perpetual ruin. Cattle fed in the Forum, which has to this day preserved the name of 'Campo Vaccino.' Three-quarters of the space encircled by the walls of Aurelian and Belisarius had become deserted. A little life had maintained itself in the Campo Martio, in the plain which extends between the Tiber, the Pincio, and the Capitol. There, side by side with the remains of baronial residences which had been destroyed according to the barbarous custom of the conqueror, were seen huts and mean cottages without any pretension to architecture. What most struck a stranger were the square and often lofty towers of the aristocracy, studded with loopholes for firearms, dark witnesses of the social condition of such perpetual warfare in that unfortunate city. There were, especially, a great number of these buildings in the Transtevero quarter, on the right bank of the Tiber. The Papi, Romani, Normanni, Stefaneschi, all had houses there, and each possessed one or more towers. That of the Anguilara still exists. The towers of the Frangipani rose in the island Tiberiana. Those of the Orsini

stood on the left bank of the river at the Monte Giordano and the Campo Fiore, above the ruins of the theatre of Pompey, now the Palazzo Pio; those of the Massimi on the spot where Balthazar Peruzzi was to build their fine Palazzo delle Colonne. The Bonfili, Amaneschi, Capizucchi, Boccapaduli, and Buccamazza lived at the foot of the Capitol, in the Ponte, Parione, Regola, and St. Angelo quarters. Their abodes were so many fortresses. Since the fourteenth century the Savelli had taken the place of the Pierleoni in the possession of the theatre of Marcellus, now the Orsini Palace. From the Porta del Popolo to the Quirinal—that is, in the splendid quarter of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, which then was but a ruined-covered desert—the Colonna reigned supreme. Monte Citorio and the Mausoleum of Augustus constituted their advanced and detached forts, while the western slope of the Quirinal formed the centre of their power. The towers of the Melini and of the Sanguigni are still seen on the spot of Domitian's stadium; those of the Sinibaldi and Crescenzi were conspicuous in the Pantheon quarter. The largest baronial residences, however, were to be found in ancient Rome, on the side of the hills that look towards the Forum. The Colosseum, the Septizone of the Palatine, the arches of Titus, of Constantine, and of Janus 'quadrifrons,' constituted a vast system of fortifications, which in the thirteenth century were still in the possession of the Frangipani. The Aventine Hill belonged to the Savelli. Between the Esquiline and the Quirinal rose the colossal tower of the Conti, which was mostly

pulled down during the reign of Alexander VII.; and not far off that of the 'milizie' of the Gaetani, who were also masters of the Campo di Bove on the Via Appia, better known under its classic appellation of the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. The palaces, or rather fortresses, belonging to all these families were composed of high but small houses, connected by embattled walls and protected by towers. The partisans and vassals lived in the neighbourhood. During the night, in time of war, the streets were closed by means of heavy iron chains. Of the seven hills only one had not fallen into the hands of the barons. The Capitol belonged to the people. There, on the spot which it still occupies, and upon antique substructions, rose the solid palace, with battlements and a tower at each corner called the 'palatium senatorum.'

The impulse given to art, which was so great in the thirteenth century, had died away before the departure of the Popes. The school of the Cosmati had disappeared. The teaching of Giotto was forgotten. From every point barbarism had invaded Rome. When the Popes returned, the population of Rome was reduced to 17,000 inhabitants. Nothing proves so forcibly the state of ruin and decomposition into which the Eternal City had fallen in the beginning of the fifteenth century than a careful examination of the houses inhabited by the middle classes. Besides the towers, which had been partly pulled down and converted into dwellings, a great number of which were to be found in the Transtevero, and of which some have been preserved

on the left bank, few houses claimed an earlier date than the time of Martin V. or Eugenius IV.[1]

Traditions had been forgotten. The professions necessary to the development of art no longer existed. Foreign aid had to be called in. Tuscany, and afterwards Umbria, furnished the architects, the sculptors, and even the workmen.

Eugenius IV. sent for Antonio di Filarete, the friend of Donatello, to make the brazen doors of St. Peter. Paul II. had the palace and portico of the Church of San Marco built by the Florentine Giuliano di Majano. Under Sixtus IV. and the two succeeding pontificates, Baccio Pintelli spread about Rome the boldness of taste of his master Brunellesco, who was the first to study on the spot the monuments of ancient Rome.[2] This was the time of the first Renaissance, with its charms and its defects, its timid and at the same time capricious character, when the models of antiquity were imitated especially in detail, but proportions, however important, were disregarded; when special attention was given to accessories, and ornamentation borrowed from the ancients was profusely spread over the whole, these ornaments being adapted to the ideas and requirements of the times. The fundamental prin-

[1] I do not take into account the Casa di Pilato, Via de' Crescenzi—which is of the eleventh century—and other small edifices, which formed evidently a part of the baronial halls. Buildings of a date prior to the fifteenth century are very rare in France and in Germany, but that can be explained by the fact that buildings were mostly constructed of wood.

[2] He designed St. Augustin, Santa Maria del Popolo, St. Peter in Montorio, the Sistine Chapel, the façade of St. Peter ad Vincula and of the Holy Apostles; also the Hospital, and probably the Steeple, of the Church of the Holy Ghost: finally, the Governo Vecchio, the residence of the Borgias.

ciple of architecture, which requires that the exterior of the building should be in harmony with the use to which the interior is to be put, was unknown. To break the monotony, the front of a building was framed and decorated, and, in fact, no means, whatever they might be, were spared to please the eye. An architect was also a painter, and most of the artists of the day were both. It is towards the end of the century—towards the year 1500—that this style attained its zenith. At that moment, as in the order of things, it had outlived itself. A change had become necessary, or a decline was imminent.

Bramante was the man wanted. Leaving Umbria at an early age, the uncle of Raphael had formed himself in the north of Italy. There, where stones are wanting, bricks were employed, and hence the importation of a new and hitherto unknown style of building into Rome, for the construction of which the ancient monuments served as quarries. This want of cut stone, and, still more, the contact of the German spirit of the Longobardians with the Byzantine taste at Ravenna gave birth to the Lombard style. Bramante imported it into Rome, and brought with him also that which the first Renaissance altogether lacked—his exquisite conception of proportions. He marks the period of transition between the first and what by general consent is called the great Renaissance—the golden period of modern architecture in Italy. He left in Rome memorable traces of his stay. His works[1] were the delight of his con-

[1] The Court of St. Damasio, the Belvidere, the galleries of the Vati-

temporaries. They first diffused the sense of just proportions, of correct perspective, and of the harmony which should exist between the whole and the details. They changed the taste, and were an epoch in the history of profane architecture. Public security, which was unknown in the preceding centuries, came to his aid. The great barons began to see that the tower and the battle blockhouse were not the perfection of art or of delight. The 'mezzo ceto,' or middle-classes, were no longer satisfied with only what was necessary. They sought beauty, and learned to realise its ideal in buildings of modest proportions. What, as a house of this kind, can be compared to the Bramante dwelling of an apostolic writer situated in the Strada Papale, opposite the Governo Vecchio?[1]

Bramante did not long survive Julius II. It was then the golden epoch of that golden age. Raphael, Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, Balthazar Peruzzi were at the zenith of their glory.[2] The Villa Madama of Giulio Romano became the type of a country house, and the Massimo and Farnesina Palaces of Peruzzi the models of the modern palaces.[3] Raphael, much more as a painter than an architect, drew the designs of the Vidoni Palace. It was the great period when simple

can, his drawings for the reconstruction of St. Peter, the small temple near San Pietro in Montono, and the Giraud Palace.

[1] It bears the inscription: 'Petrus Fuscino, novariensis a literis apostolicis scribendis, dictandisque, anno sæcularis 1500 fecit.'

[2] Besides the Villa Madama, the Villa Sante and the palaces of Cicciaporti and Cenci are the work of Giulio Romano: the Farnesina and the palaces of Massimo dei Collonne, of Peruzzi.

[3] The Vidoni and Pandolfi Palaces, and the Chigi Chapel at Sta. Maria del Popolo, are attributed to him.

grandeur was admired—when petty finery was despised —when a given idea was nobly rendered. The models of antiquity were followed, but transformed. As a clever judge in such matters has described it, modern ideas were expressed in the sonorous but dead and foreign language of the Romans. It was especially in the ornamentation of the interior that the man could freely give way to his inspirations, and free himself without scruple from the severe rules which had been laid down for the general composition of a drawing. Unhappily, this was sowing the seeds of decline. Public taste soon betrayed its preference for the eccentricities of a fantastical, exuberant, and, as it was believed, inexhaustible imagination. Michael Angelo was the first at Florence, in the chapel of the Medici, to indulge in these freaks of fancy There are niches, windows, and ornaments there which delight the eye, but for the insertion of which no reason can be assigned.[1] Later only, under the pontificate of Paul IV., the painter of the 'Last Judgment,' the sculptor of 'Moses,' appeared in Rome as an architect, built the Farnese Palace of Antonio di San Gallo, and astonished the world by reconstructing St. Peter. His style was soon adopted. Simplicity gave way to richness of details; logic to caprice. Unlimited freedom succeeded that voluntary restraint which the masters of the great epoch had imposed upon themselves. There occurred, however, some moments of respite. As in all things human, there was action and reaction. Rather on the whole than in detail did Vignola at

[1] Burckhardt, 'Cicerone in Italien' (Basel, 1855).

Rome, Palladio at Vicenza, and, to a certain degree, Scamozzi at Venice, bring back architecture to the sobriety of the beginning of the century. But in Rome the death of Michael Angelo (1563) had set all the architects at bay. For thirty years he had reigned supreme. The Popes had had confidence in no one else, and obliged the artists whom they employed to follow in his wake. Pietro Ligorio was dismissed because he had shown a tendency to depart from the plans laid down by Michael Angelo. By officially protecting the deceased master's remains, they hoped to transfer his genius to those who survived him. The error was a great and a fatal one.

Never were buildings carried on to such an extent in Rome as during the closing portion of the sixteenth century. If we examine carefully the buildings and monuments of that epoch, we soon discover the silent struggle going on between the blind followers of Buonarroti and the men of progress, who were desirous, yet from lack of invention were incapable, of freeing themselves from the old routine.[1] The one tired the public by an exaggerated reproduction of the affected subjects so often repeated of Michael Angelo, while the others did the same by uselessly endeavouring to obtain simplicity through monotony. It was merely turning in a circle.

[1] Giacomo della Porta, especially in his youth, Martino Longhi the eldest, Giovanni del Duca, all followed Michael Angelo. Domenico Fontana, who was the architect of Sixtus V., sometimes strove to emancipate himself from the style. Carlo Maderno and Ottaviano Mascherini hung between the two styles, simplicity and exaggeration, while the public were divided into Conservatives and Progressists.

We ought to stop here, for we have arrived at the period of Sixtus V. But perhaps we may be allowed to add a few words respecting the subsequent development of the Roman architecture. The past is often better judged when compared with subsequent times.

To get out of the difficulty into which men had drifted, a new style was necessary, and boldness was needed to obtain such a style. If with boldness it was possible to join talent, then nothing remained but to dare in order to please a sickened public, who, by contemplating and admiring too much an eccentric and arbitrary style, had lost the faculty of appreciating real beauty and logical design. Had Bramante reappeared then, he would have been hooted.[1]

It was the propitious hour when the baroque style was to triumph. Prepared by Michael Angelo, stopped in a measure by his pupil Vignola, praised by the imitators of the first, slightly and feebly resisted by the school of the latter, finally adopted, it was carried to the last extremes of mental aberration by the great masters of the seventeenth century—by Bernini, by Borromini, by Pietro di Cortone, by the Rossi, and the Rainaldi. An abuse of 'crossettes' and of antique devices, which they turned into objects of decoration, together with other ornaments of a more complicated character, and especially exaggerated cornices, to produce a greater shade, excited universal admiration. Stones no longer conveyed an impression of solidity.

[1] 'The Giraud Palace,' says a French traveller, who visited Rome under the pontificate of Paul V., 'is not esteemed so much for its structure as for the infinite number of rare and singular treasures which it contains.'

Men passed under huge projecting architraves, which seemed as though ready to fall beneath the weight of the groups of statues marvellously suspended upon them, and which appeared as if shaken by a storm. All the parts of the building—frontal, frame, frieze—are moved, agitated, dance and prance. These madmen ran after what is impossible, solved the most senseless problems, owing to their great talent and the riches of a perverted imagination, and owing to that genius which cannot be denied them; for often, with the same stroke, they produced a horror and a masterpiece. They are not, however, altogether without lucid intervals. Confident in the authority they had acquired, they dared go against the public taste, to deny their own idols, and return for a time to a true admiration of the beautiful. The Colonnade of St. Peter, by Bernini, is a proof of this. Ancient Rome never produced anything superior to it.

After changing the aspect of the Eternal City, and reigning supreme for nearly a century, they suddenly found the sceptre vanish from their sacrilegious hands. The public got tired and disgusted, and no longer looked on them with favour. The public is versatile by nature and it only belongs to classical perfection to vanquish its inconstancy. The turn of the 'academicians' had now come. They tried to steep their energies in the waters of classical genius, by studying the antiques and the drawings of Vignola, who had at first properly gauged them. With the exception, however, of Fuga and Vanvitelli, who possess some merit, Italy in the eighteenth century seems to have been

struck barren. One would say that her long debauch had exhausted the sources of life, and extinguished the creative powers. France, in future, was to take the lead. Her architecture presents the spectacle of the same changes,[1] and produced the same results. Those two styles, the baroque and the classic, those brothers who are enemies, had fought incessantly, and had alternately been successful, but by constant struggle had exhausted themselves. After having put a stop, in the countries where it was born, to the Gothic style of architecture, they dealt each other a death-blow, and left behind them that dearth of style which is the characteristic of our century.

[1] 1362–1370.

CHAPTER II.

ROME IN THE DAYS OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.

With the exception of the Lateran, which was rebuilt by Urban V.,[1] and of St. Peter, which was then being built, all the basilicas of Rome bore still, at the accession of Sixtus V., the mark of the early ages of Christianity. The Cosmati had, it is true, introduced the taste of the Middle Ages in the pulpits and confessionals, but had not touched the construction of churches. Few churches, like that of Ara Cœli, had been much changed. Sta. Maria della Minerva alone represented the Gothic style which the Pisani had introduced. There were a few churches of the Renaissance, a few others, which were built towards the middle of the century, under the influence of the taste introduced by Michael Angelo,[2] and, lastly, the newest, which was destined to become a model, the work of Vignola—the Church of Gesù Farnesiano.[3]

The palaces, which were much less numerous then than they are now, almost all belonged to the period

[1] 1362–1370.

[2] St. Catherine of the Funari (1564) is the most graceful specimen of that epoch in our opinion. St. Louis of the French, St. John of the Florentines, St. Maria in Vallicella were not finished.

[3] So that Church is called in the documents of that epoch—such, for instance, as the 'Pompei Ugonis Romani oratio in funera Jacobi Savelli cardinalis habita in templo Jesu Farnesiano. (Romæ, 1588).'

of the Renaissance; those of San Marco and Capranica to an earlier date, and to the style which had been introduced by Florence. Then came the masterpieces of which we have spoken.

In more humble proportions, and with a timidity which much resembles awkwardness—without, however, lacking charm, and at times, though seldom, with the pretensions of a parvenu—the houses of the middle classes followed the changes which the baronial residences underwent.

But let us penetrate into the Rome of Gregory XIII. and of Sixtus V.

We stand before the Porta del Popolo. Travellers give their names to the bargello, dispute with the Customs officers, who examine their luggage, and, as a measure of precaution, confiscate the books which they find, only to restore them afterwards should the Holy Office permit it. A crowd of idlers surround the traveller, criticise him, and laugh at his nasal accent, if he be a Frenchman,—Frenchmen, as one of them remarks, being badly protected in Rome because the Very Christian King is not as lavish of pensions as the Catholic King. If they are people of rank they alight at the 'Bear,' an hotel much in vogue for some time, and probably since Sixtus IV., whose epoch can be traced in the octagonal pillars of the old house.[1]

[1] That old establishment still exists, but only receives merchants and cart-drivers. During its existence of upwards of 400 years it has seen better days. Its small rooms could tell a deal of the secret history of Rome. Everybody, from a cardinal to a young fortune-seeker, alighted there. Cardinal Andrew of Austria hoped to live quietly there, but was recognised while looking out of the window, and made to go and live at the Vatican. There it was that he died in the arms of Clement VIII., after a short illness.

The Piazza del Popolo is irregular, and not yet adorned with the obelisk which Sixtus V. is shortly to erect there. In the centre a number of women are washing linen in a large basin. Muleteers with their beasts of burden, foreigners on horseback and on foot, are ever passing to and fro. The latter are trying to get to the best inhabited and more animated quarters of the town.

We come into the Corso, which was the Via Lata of the ancients, and is already the chief, though not the most animated, street in Rome. Commerce has not yet invaded it: few great personages have taken up their abode there, but the fashionable world already make it the object of their walk at the appointed hours. On leaving the Piazza del Popolo, we pass, between some vineyards and kitchen gardens, before some isolated houses of mean appearance. The only building that attracts attention is just finished: it is the magnificent Ruspoli Palace which the Florentine banker Ruccellai has caused his countryman Bartolommeo Ammanati to build for him.

We have arrived at the entrance of the Via Condotti, which leads to the Piazza della Trinita (di Spagna) through an unhealthy and ill-famed quarter.[1] By a straight and somewhat steep ascent, but shaded by beautiful trees, we reach the aerial heights of the Pincio, the Church of the Trinità dei Monti, and the Villa Medici, the summer residence of Cardinal Ferdi-

[1] The triangle formed by the Corso, the Via Condotti, and the Babbuino constituted the quarter of the prostitutes, and also the unhealthiest portion of the town.

nand (now the French Academy.) Cardinal Alexander de' Medici, who is to become Leo XI. for a month, is about to plant before that solemn building that group of trees, and to erect that fountain, which constitute now one of the most poetically picturesque spots in Rome. The Pincio had not yet become a promenade, and the collis hortulorum of the Romans was still occupied by the villa's garden, by vineyards and arable land. The fashionable world was contented with the avenue of the Porta del Popolo, and had not yet transported themselves to those delicious regions where they might breathe the pure air of the evening, and enjoy a view which cannot be matched. The painters of the coming generation were the men who, braving the bad climate and bad neighbourhood, were to settle in the adjoining quarter, and to bring out the beauties of the situation. Caracci, Domenichino, Guido, and, after them, Salvator Rosa,[1] were to be the first to walk there with their many friends, exchanging angry looks with their rivals, and pointed out by the first ciceroni to the first tourists. Now, under Sixtus, solitude reigns there, but the splendid view which we obtain compensates for it. Rome extends at our feet.[2] On our left appear the principal culminating points: the seven hills, the towers of the Capitol, the remains of the Palace of the Cæsars upon the Palatine and in the Farnese gardens, the steeple of Santa Maria Maggiore, minus the two chapels of Sixtus V. and Borghese, upon the Esquiline; the Quirinal, which does not as yet

[1] Passari, 'Pittori.'

[2] The view one has from the loggie of the Villa Medici.

show forth the imposing mass of the Pontifical Palace. The Rospigliosi Palace is not yet in existence; the villa of Cardinal Sforza has not yet become the Barberini Palace. When we turn our eyes to the lower town, to the inhabited Rome, we are surprised to find that there are so few cupolas, in fact not more than two or three.[1]

On the other hand a complete forest of towers rises on every side. Some are of a prodigious height. On the left bank many of those feudal remnants have disappeared, and are replaced by the loggie in the new palaces; but the Transtevero, which is equally turbulent and conservative, is still full of these remnants, and presents the appearance of a reversed comb. What strikes us if we look down upon the capital of the Christian world, and lend our ears to the confused sounds which swell the air and reach us, is the small number of churches, and the rare sounds of a bell tolling. The Catholic reaction which for fifty years has been moving the souls has not yet begun to move the stones. The next century is to give to Rome the stamp of a triumphant Church. If there are few churches and few sounds of bells in the midst of the noise that comes forth from the animated quarters, there are also few pictures inside the churches. Strangers are shocked because they forget that in Italy, during the whole of the Middle Ages, churches contained but one single altar, which was situated between the apse and the great nave; that mass was celebrated

[1] St. Augustin, Sta. Maria del Popolo, Sta. Maria di Loretta, the Fomari and Gesù.

only on that altar; that mosaics and, later, frescoes were only the followers of architecture, and that it is only in the second half of the sixteenth century that altars and oil paintings were introduced into the chapels.

When we retrace our steps we come to the Corso, near the arch of Marcus Aurelius, which divides that street into two distinct parts, and which Alexander VII. was to sacrifice to the requirements of traffic, and to the indefeasible rights of the straight line. That fine ruin and the adjacent fortress (Fiano Palace) are called the Arch and Palace of Portugal, because the latter has been the residence of several cardinals and envoys of that nation. It is only when we have passed under the triumphal monument of the great Emperor that we really find ourselves in Rome. High houses with unglazed windows, no balconies, and all covered with frescoes, prevent the sun, except in the middle of the day, from penetrating into that long and narrow artery. At the end we see, beneath the Palazetto of San Marco, the embattled convent of Ara Cœli, and the towers of the Capitol. After passing under the windows of Count Olivarès, before the Urbino Palace, on the ground of which the three palaces of Panfili (Doria) are to be built, we issue on to the Piazza San Marco of Venice. Here the palace of that name presents its enormous embattled façades, with guelf windows, and a colossal tower. It strikes and stops the passing foreigner by its majestic and sombre appearance. Built with the remains of another monument of sorrowful memory, which has seen the blood

of martyrs spilt upon its stone, and long the residence of the Pope, it has played a part in the history of the city and of the world 'urbis et orbis.' In its large court the Romans perceive for the first time, not without experiencing some sinister forebodings, a park of artillery brought there by Charles VIII. In that same court was born the Roman Renaissance. Its arcades are the first awkward imitations of the architecture of the Colosseum. 'More of a castle than a palace,' exclaimed Giovanni Corraro, 'it is the noblest edifice in Rome.' Pius IV., twenty-three years before, had made a present of it to the Republic, and it was some day to pass into the hands of Austria.

We find ourselves between the approach to the Capitol, the favourite quarters of Paul III., the last Pope who inhabited the Palace of San Marco, and the western slope of the Quirinal, which no longer belongs to, but still breathes of, the Colonna. These powerful lords still reside, and will for centuries reside, in their palace, which is many hundred years old, and the courtyard of which used to be their fortress. Hard by rises the Church and Convent of the Apostles, where Frà Felice saw many more bad than fortunate days, and where, on becoming Superior, he rejoiced in making his monks lead a hard life—where for two generations his two cells are to become an object of curiosity, and which some day are to be inhabited by another celebrated conventual brother, Ganganelli, afterwards Clement XIV. Among the traditions of the convent one anecdote is likely to be preserved. When the monks of the Apostles, on the occasion of

his exaltation, came to pay their respects to Sixtus V. and profit by the circumstance to ask many favours and graces of him, their former colleague in orders received them very ill. At the end of the audience the cook of the order approached the Pope, and said: 'Holy Father, you may remember the bad repasts you had when with us.' His Holiness agreed. 'It is the fault of want of water: give us water.' The Pope found this the only reasonable request which had been made to him, and had a beautiful fountain erected in one of the yards of the convent.

We proceed towards the Capitol, and pass before the Gesù, the church of Farnese, which with the small adjoining house of the fathers of the society, where St. Ignatius died, and where St. Francis Borgia has just expired, gave its name to the Piazza of the Altieri, the houses of which still bore the print of the Middle Ages, before their Pope built there one of the most sumptuous palaces of Rome.

Opposite to this Paul III., on the occasion of a visit of Charles V., opened a street in communication with the Capitol. Many of the houses and sombre-looking palaces on either side of the street and piazza of Ara Cœli belong to his pontificate. The high and narrow doorways surrounded by large stones, and better adapted to the entrance of a horseman than a carriage, the few and large windows, the whole architecture in fact, give to that quarter a solemn and severe aspect; but a sign of the golden period which had but so lately departed can be traced in the purity of design, in the fine proportions of the houses.

We ascend the 'cordonata' of Michael Angelo, and find ourselves on the piazza of the Capitol, which is covered with scaffolding, and is being transformed on a large scale.

We shall not go down to the Forum, which is still given up to cattle and to the seekers after old statues. We shall not penetrate, as we pass through the Arch of Titus, into almost deserted parts which seem to be doomed for ever to solitude, to silence, and to prayer. We hasten to the centre of the town, the focus of all the worldly activity that moves the Rome of modern times—temporal Rome—the great triangle formed by the Corso, the Tiber, and the Capitol.

Long, but narrow and winding streets, cross it in the direction of Fort St. Angelo. The Via Giulia, and that of Montserrato, which is the Faubourg St. Germain of other times, are the richest in palaces and also the less animated thoroughfares. It is in the 'bianchi' in the Strada Papale, and on the other side of the Piazza Navone, in the rich quarters of the Spaniards, in the Coronari and Tordinone streets, that the Rome of Sixtus V. exhibits all its activity, its riches, and its exuberant vitality. From morning to night, until the Ave Maria, the crowd throngs its badly paved thoroughfares, where freshness and shade are never wanting. The nearer we come to the bridge the more numerous become the modern palaces—that is to say, those which have been built within the last thirty years.[1] These are the dwellings of the upstarts, of

[1] Paolo Paruta, Venetian ambassador in Rome a year and a half after the death of Sixtus V., says that nowhere has luxury made such progress

prelates who have risen by merit, or by chance, or by purchase, but who are not rich enough to imitate the cardinals who seek and find upon the hills that air and space which they require for their large palaces and the gardens which surround them. The great bankers also, who give their name to the quarter, have there their banking-houses as well as their almost princely residences. The crowds in the streets astonish the foreigners. They find that in Paris the 'Marais' is scarcely as animated, and that only Venice can surpass it.

Round the Pantheon and the Minerva nothing but foreign languages are heard spoken, and especially French. The house-letting agents find their best market there. The apartments are luxurious, hung with Cordova leather, and furnished with sculptured and gilt articles. Notwithstanding the dearness of rent, it is not easy to find an apartment; for the foreigners are not mere tourists. The hope of making a fortune has brought them to Rome, and hope has always an open hand. It depends upon the future—upon the unknown—which has so many charms, and does not look too much to expense. What is wanting in these establishments is cleanliness, and linen; but luxury and all that glitters exist in profusion.

Carriages can hardly move. Their number is great. Whoever has any regard for himself can scarcely do without one. Even Charles Borromeo had said that two things were necessary in Rome: 'Love God and have a carriage.' The form of the carriage reminds

as in Rome, nor do fortunes appear anywhere to be larger or more liberally spent.

one of the Spanish 'tartana.' It is a mere cylinder opened at both ends, with a door on each side, and hung over a basket on four large wheels. The fashionable have an opening in the roof in order to look at the pretty women who love to show themselves at the windows. 'They make an astrolabe of it,' exclaimed an eloquent and popular preacher, who, according to Montaigne, discoursed with a deal of self-sufficiency, as well as excellency of language. Towards the piazza and the bridge of St. Angelo the crowd is dense during most of the day. One would say it was jubilee time, when, under Boniface VIII., the police took measures of precaution to ensure circulation.[1] How great is the sensation whenever Sixtus passes through the crowded streets to 'make a chapel,' carried on a litter, which is open on all sides, preceded and followed by officers (his Swiss guard), cardinals and bishops on mules.[2]

Strangers are surprised to find so few ladies of rank; for they seldom go out, and never except in a carriage. The coaches are filled with ecclesiastics, with prelates,

[1] Come i Roman, per l' esercito molto,
L' anno del Giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto;

Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso 'l castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro,
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso 'l monte [Giordano].
Dante, *Inferno*, c. xviii.

[2] 'He is carried,' says a French traveller, 'on a litter open on all sides, and lined both inside and outside with red velvet and gold and silver fringes. His arms are behind. He is seated as if in a cart, with his usual vestments. Eight men dressed in scarlet silk carry the litter on their shoulders. Then, after the suite of cardinals and prelates, there follows another litter, which is empty, and is carried by two mules. The whole procession is closed by a squadron of lancers.'—Paris.

monks, and Jesuits. The lords also prefer a carriage to a horse. It is only in the Corso, at the hour of walking, and to show themselves to the ladies, that they ride, either to form an escort to the Pope or to some ambassador, or to celebrate the feast of the saint of their quarter, or of the church the magnificent chapels of which contain the ashes of their forefathers, until their own are deposited beneath them. 'They are,' says Montaigne, 'very simply dressed in black, and in Florence serge, on all occasions. Being a little darker in complexion than we are, they have not, I know not why, the manners of dukes, counts, and marquesses which they imitate, but a somewhat vulgar appearance. They are, however, courteous and most gracious.' Like Italians in general, they are excellent riders, and only second to the Spanish, who, owing to the bull-fights which have not yet been given up to the mercenary toreros of the people, have learnt the art of breaking and training a horse. The riding schools of Italy have a great reputation. They yearly attract from France and Germany a great number of gentlemen, and in this respect are more successful than the universities, and compete with the holy places of Italy. The most celebrated schools are close to the Lateran and to the Colosseum. Here strangers make acquaintance with the young nobility of Rome; for a 'drawing-room' is not yet known. Home life, or coteries, replace that habitual and continuous communion which is to constitute what some day will be called society. On great occasions only are there assemblies on a large scale. Here and at the Corso, during Carnival, or at theatrical entertainments, women

of rank may be spoken to. These are less beautiful than the women of the lower classes, but are very agreeable, and always attired with pearls and precious stones whenever they appear in public. Montaigne finds 'that there are fewer ugly women in Rome than in France.' Their head is infinitely better set on their shoulders. The body in France is better made; but the Roman countenance has more majesty, softness, and gentleness.' They are never seen with men in public; even husband and wife seldom go out in the same coach.

It was a demonstrative age. Men, when they met in the streets, made a deep bow to one another. Friends embraced each other with effusion. Women who passed in carriages were saluted. People of whom favours were asked saw the supplicants at their feet. Whenever it was a question of showing sympathy either to congratulate anyone or to condole with him, tears were ever ready.

Repasts were copious and of inordinate length. In the room where dinner was served (for dining-rooms had not yet been invented) was exposed upon sculptured sideboards all the silver plate, which was generally very fine, and preserving the style of the cinque cento. The chief guests took their place either opposite or by the side of the master of the house. The ladies seldom appeared at dinner; wine was poured into goblets, and each guest mixed it with water presented to them in silver tankards by servants in rich liveries. The guests who sat near the master of the house were alone served by the house-cupbearers; those at the ends of

the table helped themselves by putting their hands into the dishes. The most distinguished guests rinsed their mouth before and after dinner. Social distinctions were everywhere rigidly maintained. The full-bodied wines of Greece, and especially the Malvoisie, as well as the Neapolitan vintages, like the Lacrima and the Mangiaguerra,[1] were most appreciated. If the culinary art was not much developed, the school left much room for improvement, and presupposed a supernatural digestion. The great Vatel of the sixteenth century, Bartolommeo Scappi, the 'secret cook,' as he was officially styled, of that Holy Pope Pius V., who never spent more than six juli for his own repasts, but who liked to entertain his friends in a manner worthy of the Vatican, no longer existed, but his memory had not ceased to inspire the artists of the following generations. Thanks to his book,[2] posterity is competent to judge of his theories, which have been happily given up in practice.

'A prudent cook,' says he, 'and one who is equal to his task, who wishes to begin well, to continue and to finish well also, must imitate the architect, who, after

[1] Bernardo Navagero, 1558. 'È possente e gagliardo, nero e tanto spesso che si potria quasi tagliare.'

[2] The book is very rare, and its exact title is this: *Opera di M. Bartholomeo Scappi, cuoco secreto di papa Pio Quinto, divisa in sei libri.*—'Nel primo si contiene il ragionamento che fa l'autore con Gio suo discepolo. Nel secondo si tratta di diverse vivande di carne, si di quadrupedi come di volatili. Nel terzo si parla della statura e stagione de' pesci. Nel quarto si mostrano le liste del presentar le vivande in tavola, cosi di grasso come di magro. Nel quinto si contiene l'ordine di far diverse sorti di paste, et altri lavori. Nel sesto et ultimo libro si ragiona de' convalescenti, et molte altre sorti di vivande per gli infermi. Con il discorso funerale che fu fatto nelle essequie di papa Paulo III. Con le figure che fanno bisogno nella lucina, et alli reverendissimi nel conclave.' Venetia, 1570, 4to.

making his plans, lays down his foundations, and erects upon that solid basis the marvels of his art. . . .' 'A cook must take notice of the diversity of tastes, and his dishes must not only please the palate, but also charm the eye by the beauty of their appearance and their colour. He must possess a great acquaintance with the productions of nature in every species—poultry, quadrupeds, fish, fruit, and vegetables. He must himself be nimble, patient, modest in all he does, and sober as much as possible; for if he is not sober he is deficient in patience, and if he loses patience he loses delicacy of taste. He must have his master's and his own honour at heart, and, save honour, his master's interest must go before everything. He must be fertile in expedients, and capable, if necessary, to give to the same matter the most multifarious tastes and forms.' After humility and the other qualities pointed to, comes the cleanliness of his person. 'He must study the taste of the prince or lord whom he is serving, and never trust those who aid him, or the scullions, for, as the proverb says, "He who trusts much is much deceived."' The great *chef*, as may be seen, had, like all his successors who were worthy of their calling, a high notion of his mission. We cannot follow him in the exposition which he gives of his art, nor penetrate its mysteries, nor examine with him his numerous bills of fare. We must confine ourselves to saying that in big dinners there were four courses. The first consisted of preserved fruit, and of pastry ornamented with the Pope's arms, containing game. The others were composed of a multitude of dishes of various kinds—of poultry

with the feathers; of capons cooked in bottles; of meat, fish, game, and sweet dishes all jumbled together in a manner which puzzles all our modern ideas of cookery. Some dishes were prepared with rose-water, and the most incongruous substances often found themselves together in the same dish. Indeed, incongruity was looked upon as the sublime in the art. Before dessert, the table was cleared, the guests washed their hands, and on the table were then spread a number of sweet dishes strongly perfumed, preserved eggs and syrups. On rising, flowers were distributed all round. Suppers were all the fashion during Carnival time.[1] At these the ladies were present. They alone could sit down, and were served by their husbands, who stood behind their chairs. When supper was over, the table was removed, and beneath it there was another with the dessert.

Rome was never more animated than during the ten days that precede Ash-Wednesday. Paul II., who delighted in seeing those around him enjoy themselves, had transferred to the Corso the traditional games of the Piazza Navone. Seated in the small room which forms the corner of the Palazetto of San Marco, which commanded the whole of the street, he liked to witness the amusements of the last days of Carnival, and the arrival of the barberi (small race-horses), which were and are now always stopped beneath these windows. Hence dates the 'servitude' attributed to that room. For four hundred years the Governor of Rome, in his

[1] The Shrove Tuesday suppers have been maintained in princely and many other families. On that day everybody is invited.

official robes, which have not varied in cut, has gone thither with his suite during the time that this mad gaiety lasts. Under Gregory XIII. the races had much degenerated. Not only horses, but buffalos, and even Jews and children, were made to run. Licentiousness exceeded all limits. Sixtus V. re-established order by certain decrees which regulated while slightly modifying these modern saturnalia.

In Rome, as throughout Italy, except in Milan, where, owing to the captivity of the Archduke Maximilian, the Governor had forbidden any public rejoicings, the Carnival of 1588 was particularly lively. The severity of the first years of the pontificate of Sixtus had re-established order and tranquillity. From that time there were fewer executions, fewer examples of extreme severity. Rome resumed her former aspect, that which she will always preserve if circumstances permit: the aspect of a town that likes amusement. Even in the higher spheres amusement was in favour. Political matters were seen under a less dark aspect. The Armada of Philip II. was about to leave the ports of Spain. The Guises were not yet murdered. Vague hopes of a better future fluttered in the minds of every one. Those who saw the Holy Father found him in very good spirits. He even gave permission that the wandering comedians should be allowed to play in private houses. The prohibition of the masks was raised. Everyone might put on a fancy dress on paying half a grosso for some charitable object. A decree inflicted the severest punishments on those who insulted a Jew in the Corso. The feast of the bridge of Horace

was allowed to take place at the Piazza Navone, when the organizers had delivered their hostages into the hands of the Government as a guarantee of their preserving order. The Pope, being so well disposed, was asked to authorise the Desiosi, the best and most celebrated troup of actors in Italy, to give public entertainments; and he gave the permission on the distinct understanding that they should be day representations, that men should play women's parts, and that the public should not carry arms. All went off admirably. A little scandal took place, it is true. Thus the celebrated Sicilian beauty Angela was found in the coach of Monsignor Volta, the governor of the Borgo. The case was a serious one. No woman of her kind could show herself in a carriage, and yet she was found in that of a prelate; but clemency was the rule of the day. The lady was not punished according to law, and Monsignor Volta was not deemed responsible for the persons whom his coachman chose to drive about Rome. Jesters who had created a disturbance at the Corso were only forbidden to go out for the remainder of the Carnival. A man disguised as a woman shocked the sbirri by his loose ways. He got three lashes; but, as he was a gentleman, his incognito was carefully preserved, and he was allowed to keep his mask while he was being flogged. This was the event of Shrove Tuesday. On Ash Wednesday the Pope left his villa, where he had spent the preceding days, to hold a chapel at St. Sabine, and to give the ashes according to custom. Cardinal Aldobrandini officiated.

Several great marriages were celebrated during the

Carnival. Donna Camilla and several Roman ladies were present at the nuptial banquets. The wedding of Signor Gottofredi was magnificent. The supper cost 500 scudi. All the ladies of the aristocracy and four out of eleven invited cardinals condescended to come. The cardinals supped apart. The ambassadors also gave entertainments. Pisany gave a luncheon at the Lanti Palace to the cardinals, noblemen, and ladies friendly to France. From the windows the guests witnessed with admiration a kind of tournament given by the fashionable youth of Rome. The next day a similar entertainment, by other Roman noblemen, of which Olivarès did the honours, was given at the Corso before the Urbino Palace, to the friends of Spain. The Holy Father, in his way, took a part also in the Carnival festivities. After a sermon preached by Padre Toledo in the Sala Costantina, His Holiness had his sister, Cardinal Montalto, Don Michel Peretti, and their two sisters to supper. Donna Camilla then retired with the younger ones to the Pope's apartment in the palace of the archpriest of St. Peter's, and witnessed an entertainment which the Desiosi had the honour of giving them there. On another evening Donna Camilla and her grandchildren were present at the comedy given in the palace of Signor Ridolfi. Among the audience were nine cardinals and all the ladies of the aristocracy. Similar amusements took place at the houses of Virginio Orsini, Federico Cesi, Giuliano Cesarini, and Orazio Ruccellai. Cardinal Sforza gave a theatrical entertainment in his palace, quite a private affair, only to a few cardinals and prelates.

The love of play-going was very wide-spread. There were as yet no theatres, but princes began to erect stages inside their palaces. The Olympic Academy of Florence had set the example,[1] and the theatre of Palladio is still to be seen there. The Grand-Duke of Como appropriated to this use one of the rooms of the Uffizi.[2] The ancients were studied and imitated. The stage scenery and machinery called forth the admiration of the spectators, but the pieces given show how literature had fallen.[3] Exterior form was all that was sought for; originality of thought, invention, poetry, were almost entirely wanting. The comedies lacked the wit of Machiavelli, but not his licentiousness. The situations were more than equivocal, and the language wholly unmeasured. Among the writers of plays most in renown were Pietro Aretino, Grazzini, better known under the name of Lasca, one of the founders of the Academy of the Crusca, the official enemy of Tasso, Lodovico Dolce, and Matteo Galladei. The plays most admired were 'Constant Love,' 'Unjust Scorn,' 'La Calandra,' and 'Alexander.'[4] On the occasion of the marriage of Duke Charles Emmanuel with the Infanta Catherine, Guavini created the pastoral style. We can hardly conceive how the 'Pastor fido' can have created such enthusiasm. The much-admired tragedies were

[1] The theatre was completed after the death of the architect, 1580. The Farnesian theatre at Parma was built in 1618 only.

[2] Andrea Garsoni, 1576.

[3] See 'Descrizione dell' apparato e degli intermedi fatti per la comedia rappresentata in Firenze, nelle nozze dei serenissimi Don Fernando Medici e Madama Christina di Loreno, Grand-Duchi di Toscana.' Florence, 1589.

[4] 'Prologue of the 'Amore Scolastica,' of Raffaello Martini, 1570.

but clumsy and insipid imitations of the Greek. They were given in the colleges of the Jesuits and in the houses of cardinals where the 'Mandragola' was out of season. At the courts of princes they were tolerated only on condition that the richness of the dresses and the scenery should make the interminable speeches of the gods of Olympus endurable. There were also melodramas, interspersed with witty remarks, happily few in number, setting forth the Christian philosophy, the intervals between them being filled up by burlesque scenes, calculated to disgust anyone with the morality thus propounded.[1] Besides companies of amateurs which were got up in almost every town of any importance, there were troups of wandering comedians who played alternately in all the principal towns of Italy. They formed a link between the several portions of the Peninsula, and greatly contributed to the disappearance of the special dialects common to the higher and inferior classes that went to the theatre.

Without the author's knowledge, a first edition, but an incorrect and faulty one, of the 'Gerusalemme Liberata' had just been published. Notwithstanding the enmity of the Grand-Duke against the poet, and of the Academy of the Crusca, the work of Tasso had an immense success, which was mostly due to the beauty of its style. Diction was enough for the essentially prosaic generation of that day, who cared only for elegance of form, and was too much absorbed by the cares of real life to bestow any serious attention upon literature, or to seek for aught

[1] 'La Conversione del Peccatore a Dio.' By Battista Leoni. 1601.

else in a theatrical representation or in a poem than a passing pleasure, an opportunity to laugh, to admire fine scenery or a pretty woman.[1]

To form an idea of the taste of that age, it is necessary to peruse the numerous critical essays which were then published in the form of dialogues. The merit of Ariosto was questioned, Dante was condemned. 'That poet,' says Giuseppe Malatesta, 'has borrowed his wings of Icarus, in order that he might fly as far from the common as he could; but, in seeking the sublime too much, he has fallen into a sea dark with obscurities. He is a philosopher and a theologian: of the poet he has but the form. To compass his "Inferno," his "Purgatorio," and his "Paradiso," an astrolabe is required. To understand them one ought ever to have a theologian at one's command, who could give an explanation of their meaning. His style is often crude and barbarous. He seeks to be mysterious and revolting where he could most easily be clear and elegant, and resembles in this those princes and great people who write a good hand, but who, out of affectation, scrawl illegibly.'

We penetrate into one of the palaces of the aristocracy. The court, which is not a large one as yet (for the spacious 'cortile' belongs to the seventeenth century only), and is encased by arcades, is full of footmen and valets belonging to the guests. Each man holds a torch. A narrow and steep staircase leads to the sala, where the servants of the house sit. We cross the second room,

[1] In Rome women were strictly forbidden to appear on the stage, but in other parts of Italy this was not the case.

where the butlers are, and find ourselves in the 'anti-camera nobile,' where we are received by one of the gentlemen in attendance. He makes us go through a series of rooms with painted or sculptured roofs. If sculptured or gilt, large frescoes encircle the top of the room. The walls are hung with 'arazzi,' or gilt leather, but seldom adorned with frescoes. Such paintings do not arrest our attention. We see that the artists work rapidly and cheaply; that they mechanically reproduce certain subjects of Michael Angelo; that the supernatural efforts of the figures in their works are only to be explained by the desire of being remarked; that great effects are produced without any apparent cause, and that the exaggerated nature of the composition does not hide the deficiency of the composer. Our fancy is caught by the frames, the arabesques, the fruits, flowers—in fact all that makes up the superfluous portion of a picture, for the essential part of it is beneath contempt. Vasari, who has been dead some years, the Zuccaro brothers, especially Federico, are the most appreciated. Painters of less reputation, such as Paris Nogari, Cesare Nebbia, Salimbeni, whose best productions are the works of their youth, Roncalli detto il Pomerancio, the author of the horrors of St. Stephen's 'rotondo,' all are in full activity.[1] They decorate the apartments of the nobility, and cover the façades of the houses of the middle classes with colossal frescoes that are not likely to resist the storms of winter. Until the coming of the Caracci, who by their celebrated frescoes

[1] Their works can be seen in the Villa Peretti.

in the Farnese Palace were shortly to introduce a new school, the art of painting was fast disappearing.

We meet with few of those graceful nothings which future generations will like to cram into their rooms. In this respect Rome is very backward as compared with Venice. The small cabinets are still rare, but the plate suggests the influence of Benvenuto Cellini, who has been dead only some fifteen years. The Roman silversmiths are, and ever will be, artists.

Sculpture had as a rule escaped the general falling off better than painting and architecture. The style of Michael Angelo was predominant. They were undoubtedly pigmies, who tried to follow in the steps of the giant and could only imitate his errors; but a careful examination of their works discovers some small and even some great treasures.

The taste for antiques was very common. The great and wealthy ornamented the courts of their houses with statues found everywhere—at the Thermæ, at the Palatine, and round the Capitol. Sixtus V. had authorised excavations. They produced good results, but laid bare many remains of Roman architecture which the students of that art pulled down without remorse.[1]

[1] See the French MSS. already mentioned: 'Le antichità della città di Roma, opera non fatta più mai da scrittor alcuno' (Venice, 1558), contains a description of the collections of antiques which existed then at the Vatican, at the Capitol, and in the private houses. In speaking the Venus of Belvedere, the author says: 'Gli antichi la dipinsero ignuda, perchè apparessero le sue gran bellezze, o pure perchè gli amanti, che lei ed il figliuolo seguono, mostrano tutti ignudi i loro pensieri, e fanno molto à l'aperto le loro cose, non credendo però, che altri le vegga.'

Still led by the attendant, we at last reach the very imperfectly lighted stanza wherein sit all those who are assembled in the house. The ladies are seated along the walls in arm-chairs or upon gilt stools. The men are standing in groups. If a cardinal is present, he is treated with almost regal honours. The heads of families and grandees are approached with a great show of respect, but conversation is familiar and free. People talk loud and laugh. Men and women say what they think, and call everything by its name. The 'cancans' of the town and of the court constitute the topics of conversation. We are already far from the time when the Italian society of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was distinguished (in a lesser degree than in Rome) by its refinement. The pleasure of talking of arts and sciences is left to the Universities, or a few meetings of literary men who are very inferior to the humanists of the Renaissance. Formerly, learned men might be met with at the Massa Palace in the Piazza Navone, at Cardinal Borromeo's and at Cardinal Farnese's; now the wits are to be met at a private house in the Corso, for literature is no longer in fashion. The times are too serious. Reform has penetrated into the palaces, and the customs of society have felt the effects of it. While morality may have gained, society is less amusing than formerly. The mind is less cultivated. There is no longer a Pic of the Mirandola, nor are those women to be seen who a hundred years ago delighted in reading the Greek classics. The social position of the great lady is altogether changed. She is less independent, more Christian, and a better

mother of a family. She goes out only to church, employs the money of which she can dispose in works of charity or in building and ornamenting chapels, or perhaps her husband's tomb if she be a widow.

Though the simplicity and ingenuity of the Italian spirit shines forth occasionally, the ease of former days has been replaced by the severity of the Spanish etiquette, which has invaded the Peninsula and Rome especially; while the manners and tastes of the Florentines are transported to the Court of France, until that of Louis XIV. gives, in its turn, the tone to the society of Italy and of Europe.

The men wear their dress remarkably well: the tight-fitting coat, the ruffle, the short mantle, and the rapier. We are not of Montaigne's opinion. We find that they have a noble deportment, and an aristocratic type. Foreigners who come in contact with them praise their exquisite politeness and kind attention.

Society, if we may make use of the expression, is not very numerous as yet, and is always divided into two great factions, not that of the Colonna and the Orsini, but of Spain and of France. It is not an open quarrel, but there exists a coldness, and, excepting when there is an official reception, people avoid meeting those who do not share their political opinions. In the Roman aristocracy, the Orsini and Colonna hold unquestionably the first rank. The Gaetani and Conti come immediately after; the Massimi lay claim to a direct descent from Fabius Maximus Cunctator; the Cesarini from the Cæsars. The latter take pride in possessing, in the person of Donna Clelia, natural daughter of

Cardinal Farnese and wife of Giovanni Cesarini, the greatest beauty of the times, 'the woman,' says Montaigne, 'who, if she is not the most agreeable, is unquestionably the most amiable in Rome or anywhere else.' The Altieri in the eleventh century were rivals of the Colonnesi, whom the Capranici had always followed. The Cesi and Mattei were of the richest, and the Patrizi of the noblest families in Rome; the Vitelli, Lancellotti, Santacroce, Teodoli, Bocapaduli, Cenci, Macaroni, Serlupi, Muti, Costaguti, and others have resided from time immemorial in their antique palaces.

Since the beginning of the century, several foreign families have established themselves in Rome, have taken root there, and allied themselves to the nobility of the place. The Fieschi, counts of Lavagno of Genoa,[1] the Rucellai of Florence, the Ludovisi of Bologna, are among the most important. The Chigi, whose fortune was made in commerce, shone under the pontificates of Julius II. and Leo X. For a time their star is on the wane. They have disappeared from the scene, but better days are in store for them. Among the naturalised foreigners, Mario Sforza is the most conspicuous. A worthy descendant of the last 'con-

[1] He had two palaces bearing his name. The one situated near the new church was bought by Gregory XIII. for Giacomo Buoncompagni, and is still called the Sora Palace. It has been erroneously attributed to Bramante. The other Fieschi palace was composed of a group of houses of the middle of the fifteenth century, the two of which looking on to the Borgo Vecchio have been preserved; those looking on to the Borgo Nuovo and the Piazza Scorsa Cavalli have been demolished, and replaced by modern houses bearing the Nos. 50-63. That palace had become the property of Cardinal Savelli, who, when he retired to Frascati, shortly before his death, sold it to Donna Camilla.—Marcardio, *Ritratti di Roma Moderna.*

dottiere,' that soldier of fortune who became Duke of Milan, he had successively fought for France and for Spain, and then served in the Pope's army. Owing to his personal merit, and also to the marriage of his charming sister, Donna Costanza, with Duke Sora, he has been most kindly treated by Gregory XIII., appointed Assistant to the Pontifical Throne, and Lieutenant-General of Holy Church.[1] It has been seen, how, notwithstanding the importance of this personage, Sixtus V. deprived him of both his appointments. But Mario continues to live in Rome. He has married a noble and great heiress, only daughter of Giovanni Battista Conti, and lives at the palace of Riario della Lungava (Corsini) in great state, and bearing up courageously against his disgrace.

Count Altemps, Marquess of Galese, who was created duke by Sixtus V., is a young man, the legitimised natural son of Cardinal Marco Silico. The reader remembers his misadventure. Having obtained his pardon, he is obliged to live far from Rome, and is serving at Avignon in the Pontifical troops. The Altemps have bought the fine palace built by Peruzzi, which the cardinal inhabits, and which is to remain in the family.

The titles of princes, dukes, marquesses, and counts derived from lands formerly held in fief begin to multiply, but the family name, not the title, is taken into consideration. The usage of sovereigns conferring their orders upon foreigners is already prevalent. The

[1] In the Villa Ludovisi there are portraits of the first duke and his wife, Donna Costanza, which were painted at the time.

Golden Fleece which the Emperor and the King of Spain granted only in rare instances, and to people of the highest birth or distinction, is the most esteemed of all the orders. Those of the Pope, the orders of St. Peter, of St. Paul, of St. George, of Loretto, and of the Lily, are less appreciated. Next to the Golden Fleece comes the French Order of St. Michael, which is given mostly for acts of bravery, but only to Frenchmen. In vain does the Cardinal de Joyeuse solicit that honour for the son of Bernardino Savello. 'It is not enough,' replies Henry III., 'to have been naturalized a Frenchman; a man must be born in France, and reside there, as prescribed by the statute of the order which I have sworn to obey.' The Venetian patriciate is also much esteemed. Doctors and professors of letters are looked upon as nobles. Provincial aristocracy is considered inferior to that of Rome.

A military career ennobles a man. The times of the 'condottieri' have passed, but the Roman youth like to serve either under the Emperor, or under the French and Spanish Kings, or under the Republic. The troops of the Holy See are commanded by military men of renown. The Pope does not consider their nationality, for everyone is at home in Rome, but he selects those who inspire him with most confidence. The greatest celebrity in Rome has just died. Marco Antonio Colonna, the Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, who commanded the Pontifical squadron at Lepanto, is no more (he died in Spain on August 2, 1584). Latino Orsini is considered a good officer. Cardinal Marco Antonio Colonna, who is a gallant soldier, has, as may be

remembered, expelled from the States the brigands who infested them at the outset of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Ottavio Cesi will be less fortunate when the brigands reappear at the close of that same pontificate.

Questions of etiquette begin to be somewhat more complicated. The Spanish etiquette, as we have said, is generally adopted. Rank is much esteemed, and never given up; even near relations hold to it among themselves. Young Michael Peretti has disputes with his brother the cardinal with respect to precedence. The relations between families are necessarily affected by it, and the Pope is obliged to instruct the 'Congregration of the Ceremonies' to prepare a table of precedence among the Roman families. Incessant discussions on points of etiquette take place in official assemblies, at the great ceremonies of the Church, in the processions of the Pope, or at the reception of ambassadors. Matters have come to such a pass that, to avoid any disagreeable scene, Duke Sessa made his entrance at three o'clock (after the Ave Maria). The barons notwithstanding went to meet him. At least fifty coaches were waiting at the Ponte Molle, and sixty-seven following the coach of Olivarès and of the Ambassador-Extraordinary. On this occasion Orsini and Ottavio Cesi quarrelled as to precedence. Swords were drawn, and both were wounded.

If duelling, which was condemned by the Council of Trent and is visited by excommunication, never as yet has taken much root in the customs of Italy, it is not for want of books treating upon the subject. They admit the 'ordalie' or judgment of God, but also the in-

fluence of stars, and explain the nature of a challenge, the requisite qualities in an adversary and in the seconds, and finally the rules of fighting. The Roman barons cared little about it. Single combat was almost unknown.[1] When they had a quarrel to settle, they went out of Rome with their servants and friends, and gave battle to one another in the open country, or laid waste each other's property. Sometimes the 'bravi' were called in, and these were ever ready, for a small sum, to lay a trap or to fire an arquebuse in broad daylight. Such were the customs a few years back, but Sixtus V. has changed all that. The police is so active, and justice so promptly administered, that acts of violence have become very rare. Under his reign the barons do not amuse themselves much in Rome, and are there only in comparatively small numbers. Moreover a whole century of misery and anarchy still weighs upon them. Fortunes have suffered from it, but are slowly mending. The nobility is much richer than the middle classes.[2] With the exception, however, of the Colonna, the Orsini,[3] the Duke of Sermoneta, head of the Gaetani, the Cesarini,[4] and a few others, such as the Vitelli and the Mattei, the Roman aristocracy cannot cope with

[1] The following works contain curious information respecting the ideas and customs of the second half of the 16th century: 'Il duello di Messer G. B. Pigna, al serenissimo Don Alfonso di Este, Principe di Ferrara.' Venice, 1560. 'Il duello di M. Dario Atiendoli.' Venice, 1564. 'Duello dell' eccellentissimo e clarissimo giurisconsulto M. Andrea Alciato.' Venice, 1564. 'Discorsi del Conte Annibale Romei, gentiluomo Ferrarese.' Venice, 1594.

[2] Instructions of Sixtus Quintus to Cardinal Montalto.

[3] S. Nicolini to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, January 28, 1589.

[4] Babbi to the Grand-Duke Francis, October 1, 1585.

the magnificence and influence of the 'great' cardinals and foreign families settled in Rome, nor indeed scarcely with the prelates who are following their career, or are attached to the Government, which, while it changes often, offers more opportunity for success. The Aldobrandini, the Borghese, the Barberini, the Panfili, have not yet appeared on the 'world's stage:' the Ludovisi, the Rospigliosi, the Odescalchi, the Ottoboni, who are important personages in their own country, are not so yet in Rome; the Chigi have not mended their fortune; the Altieri, who belong to the oldest patrician families in Rome, have not yet seen one of their people crowned with the tiara. The following century is to disclose these great names.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC WORKS OF SIXTUS V.

SIXTUS V. had a love, it might almost be said a passion, for building. He equally understood the art and possessed a technical knowledge of it. It may be remembered that he himself presided over the works which were undertaken for him while he was a cardinal. During the many years spent in retreat in the lifetime of Gregory XIII. he had evidently conceived and matured several plans. Whoever has a mind for architecture, and no means of indulging his taste, is liable to such freaks of fancy. Such was the case with the hermit of the Villa Peretti. But when he became Pope, it only depended upon him whether the dreams of the poor cardinal should be realized. All his plans were perfectly drawn out in his own mind. He had but to choose and to order—to will, in fact, and he was not deficient in will. The activity shown by the Pope is really marvellous. But what strikes us much more than the extent and importance of his constructions, which were begun and finished in five years, is the mental labour which must have preceded the execution of the works. Such labour requires time. An idea, no doubt, comes with the rapidity of lightning, but it must be matured. In the buildings of Sixtus V.

every part shows reflection, everything holds together and has an object, nothing is arbitrary or superfluous.

When Cardinal Montalto, jolted in his coach, slowly drove through a thousand by-streets down the Esquiline to the Vatican, he traced in his mind's eye the long avenues which were wanting to connect the basilicas, and, at the same time, to throw open those barely inhabited regions to the activity and movement of an increased population.

When he perceived next to the old sacristy of St. Peter's, Nero's Obelisk, or The Needle as it was then called, half buried in the earth, he remembered how many Popes had wished to raise that monument from its burial-place and erect it in front of the church. When they said it was impossible to do so, he was silent; a smile of contempt and of scepticism played upon his lips.

When he had returned to his villa, through quarters deserted owing to lack of water, he could from his window perceive the Latin Mountains, which are rich in springs. Those waters formerly reached Rome. But the aqueducts of the ancients had fallen into decay, and no one thought of repairing them or of replacing them by others. Was this possible? Certainly not, he was told, because there was no money, and the country besides was in the hands of the brigands.

Another difficulty threatened to put a dead stop to the works which had been continuously carried on at St. Peter's since the days of Julius II. Matters had reached a crisis. The pillars of Bramante, which were

destined to bear the cupola, had been strengthened. Since the death of Michael Angelo, the upper gallery had been completed according to his designs. Nothing remained but to place the cupola upon it. The expense and the risk frightened everyone. The cost was valued at a million gold scudi, and the time calculated at ten years for the performance of so gigantic a task.[1] Public opinion was beginning to entertain a fixed idea that St. Peter's would remain unfinished.

These several questions—the construction of the cupola, the necessity of providing with water those quarters of Rome where it was wanting, the opening of new streets, and the transfer of the Needle—were the principal ones of the day. They were everywhere discussed, and no doubt Cardinal Montalto was meditating upon them also. He and the young Fontana together formed plans, discussed and settled them. Though chimerical then, they suddenly took a very practical form when once he had become Pope. He then had but to recall them to his memory. His ideas were quite settled. It was only a question of realizing them.[2]

This was not known among the people, who, when not blinded by passion, are generally quick in observing and good in judging given facts, but little disposed to

[1] 'Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia.' By P. Philip Bonami. 1715.

[2] We have no documents in support of what we state, because no one has taken the trouble of recording the intimate conversations of the disgraced cardinal with Fontana; but the fact that these questions did occupy his mind is evident from the state of affairs in Rome.

analyse the causes of such effects. To do all that Sixtus V. did in five years, was really to reach the last limits of the possible; to conceive and mature his projects, in the midst of so many other occupations, was to perform a miracle. Such is, however, the impression which he produced upon his contemporaries,[1] and that which has been handed down by tradition and by history. People were convinced that he had conceived and created all at once. By raising the Obelisk before St. Peter's, by crowning that edifice, by opening five wide streets, one of which is two and a half miles long, by bringing plenty of water into the town, and by accomplishing in five years what had been considered impossible for the last fifty years, irrespectively of the other works of which we shall speak presently, Sixtus V. gained for himself a kind of supernatural prestige. The truth is, that that extraordinary man had prepared everything beforehand. In politics, in the administration of the Church and of the State, in building, he had ready-made programmes. He had but to set them all to work, except one which he had to abandon when he found himself called upon to put it into execution—his political programme. Of all arts that of governing is the most difficult and can be learnt only by the exercise of power.

No one of his undertakings has so much attracted attention as the raising of the Needle of Nero in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter. That obelisk was half buried, though still standing on the western flank of the church near the old sacristy. Paul III. had been

[1] Babbi to the Grand-Duke, September 28, 1585.

the first to conceive the idea of having it transported to the piazza. He consulted Michael Angelo, and Antonio di Sangallo, who were the first architects of the day. They were unanimous in declaring the undertaking to be impracticable. Their opinion being law, the idea was given up. The new Pope came back to it. Four months after his accession he proposed the plan to a commission, which was composed of four cardinals, four prelates, the senator of Rome, and a few men learned in such matters.[1] It was decided that a competition should be opened; and a choice soon became possible from a multitude of plans which were sent or brought to Rome by their designers, and which came from every part of Italy, and even from Sicily and from Greece. That of Fontana was chosen. But, considering the architect to be too young, the commission intrusted Giacomo della Porta and Bartolommeo Ammanati, of Florence, with the carrying out of the works from the plans of Fontana. The latter complained to the Pope that 'No one can better carry out a plan than the man who has conceived it, for nobody can perfectly master the thoughts of another.' Struck by the justice of this observation, Sixtus V. intrusted the whole business to his former mason. Rome was loud in its condemnation, and thought that the enterprise would not succeed. The celebrated Bartolommeo Ammanati, who had asked the Pope to allow him a year's reflection before he submitted his

[1] 'Della trasportazione dell' obelisco Vaticano e delle fabriche di nostro Signore papa Sisto V.' By Domenico Fontana. 1590.

plan to him, returned to Florence, there to die of grief when he heard of his obscure rival's success.

The points to be determined were, how to raise the Obelisk, to place it horizontally upon a sledge, and to remove it to the Piazza di St. Pietro, where it was to be erected. If the boldness of the enterprise had struck every mind while it called forth the scepticism of some, people were no less amazed at the magnitude of the preparations and at the rapidity with which the works were carried on. The iron apparatus alone weighed 40,000 pounds. All the iron workshops in Rome, in Ronciglione, and in Subiaco were engaged upon it. The fine forests of Nettuno furnished the beams, which were of enormous size. To transport each one of them, fourteen buffaloes were required. The planks, which were of elm and oak wood, were brought from San Severa. Not only Rome, but the whole of Europe, watched the works with anxious curiosity. In October work had begun, and already on May 7 of the following year (1586), the most hazardous portion of the undertaking, that of laying the obelisk horizontally upon the sledges, could be attempted. The crowd of spectators was immense. The cardinals, and prelates, and nobles were present. An order from the Governor prescribed the most absolute silence on the part of the crowd. This precaution was necessary to allow of the workmen hearing the orders given. In the morning Fontana had been to ask the blessing of the Pope, who, according to tradition, told him, by way of encouragement, that if any accident occurred he would have his head cut off—a threat which so alarmed the young man that he

caused horses to be in readiness at every gate of Rome. At the same time the 'bargello' is supposed to have had a scaffold raised before the tribunes of the spectators with a proportionate number of executioners in readiness; but this is one of the numerous fables invented long after the death of Sixtus, and received as true stories on the authority of Gregorio Leti. With the help of 900 workmen, and of a great number of horses, the works went on rapidly in the midst of the most profound silence, interrupted only at times by the word of command from Domenico Fontana, and by the dull noise of the cables and the beams, when, all of a sudden, a stentorian voice called out, 'Water on the ropes!' These were on fire. The fire was, however, easily put out, and the woman—for it was a woman, who, contrary to the orders of the Governor, had saved the Obelisk by breaking the inforced silence—had the honour of kissing the Pope's foot. She was a Genoese, of the name of Bresca, and had a garden on the banks of the river. She obtained for herself and for her descendants the privilege of providing the palm branches on Palm Sunday for the processions at St. Peter's. Her family has enjoyed the privilege down to this day.[1]

The ground from which the Obelisk was to be removed being at a greater height than the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter, a dam had been dug between the two points, and on June 13 the Obelisk was removed thither and deposited horizontally within it. Owing to the great heat, the erection of the Needle was post-

[1] The story, variously told, is true historically.

poned until the autumn. On September 10 the Obelisk was erected upon its pedestal, with perfect success, and in the midst of a great concourse of people.

M. de Pisany and the Duke of Luxembourg were both to make their entrance that day; the one to resume his post after a momentary absence, with the cause of which the reader is acquainted, and the other to submit to the Pope in the name of the King. Some days before, Sixtus V., while holding a chapel at Sta. Maria del Popolo, had seen the marquis there incognito. The idea then came to him that he would make the ambassadors witnesses that day of the power of his will, and of the boldness and ability of the architect he had selected. During mass he called Monsignor Allaleone, his master of ceremonies, to warn him, and it was agreed that, contrary to usage, the two ambassadors should come, not by the Porta del Popolo, but by the Angelica Gate, which leads direct to St. Peter's. Thus, wrote M. de Pisany to Henry III.:[1] 'We were present at the erection of the Needle which was going on, so that, considering the multitudes who crowded to see this great and admirable machine raised, and those who wished to accompany us on our entrance into Rome, I do not think that there was anyone who did not go out on that day.' The operation had commenced before daybreak, and the last rays of the setting sun were gilding the Obelisk of Nero on the spot where we now see it. The cannon from Fort St. Angelo, and the enthusiastic cheers of the spectators, greeted that solemn moment. The Pope was on his way from the Quirinal to the

[1] Pisany to Henry III., September 8, 1586.

Vatican, there to receive Luxembourg and Pisany, and was passing through the Bianchi when the fire of the guns and the shouts of the Romans told him of the happy accomplishment of the enterprise. That evening all the trumpets of Rome, accompanied by drums, serenaded the fortunate architect. The Holy Father made him a knight and a nobleman of the city of Rome, gave him a gold chain, as well as ten prebends of the Lauretana knighthood, which yielded each 400 scudi, and all the material that had been used in the work. These liberalities astonished those who did not know the character of Sixtus. He was very shy of spending his money when he did not trust those who asked him for money, or when it was a question of favouring undertakings which were not to his liking, but exceedingly liberal when he put his own ideas into execution, and intrusted them to agents of merit, who were worthy of his confidence.[1] He felt the importance of that work. Full of joy at its successful termination, he spoke of it to Gritti, and told him that it was a great honour for the ambassadors of France to have been allowed to enter Rome at the very time that the Obelisk of St. Peter was being raised.[2]

The correspondence of the period; the accounts given by diplomatists; the comedies, that precious source of history whenever it is a question not of analysing facts, but of appreciating public opinion; the numberless pieces of poetry which celebrated the event, and even

[1] Gritti to the Doge, June 6, 1587. 'Si come in alcune cose non si può negare che il papa non si guarda molto dal spender, cosi in alcune altre niuno par che tenga il danaio in manco stima di lui.'

[2] Gritti to the Doge, Sept. 13, 1586.

the plans[1] of Rome for the use of foreigners, all show, by the exaggerated proportions given to the Obelisk, how great was the European interest taken in an enterprise which had been declared impracticable by the highest authorities in art and in mechanism. Foreigners on arriving in Rome ran to see the Needle. The Pope wished to consecrate the Obelisk to the service of the Catholic religion. It was 'purified' and exorcised in presence of the Patriarch of Constantinople and of a numerous assembly. A cross in gilt bronze, which rested on the arms of the Peretti, was then hoisted and placed upon the summit, amidst the booming of the artillery from Fort St. Angelo, whilst the clergy sung 'O crux, ave, spes unica.'

That ceremony was the expression of the intimate thought of the Pope. After astonishing the world by the power of his will, which could conquer every obstacle, he liked to edify the faithful grouped around that monument which had been witness of the horrors of Nero's circus. From year to year and from generation to generation they will come and ask the blessing of the Vicar of Christ upon that same piazza.

Making use of Fontana, the Pope pressed forward with equal activity and at the same time the works necessary for providing water for the mountainous quarters of Rome, and for enlarging the streets. He had bought, for 25,000 scudi, of Marzio Colonna, the brother of the cardinal, a copious fountain which was situated some twenty miles to the south-east of Rome,

[1] See the plan of Rome in the Imperial Library in Paris. It cannot date before the year 1589 or 1590.

and not far from Palestrina. These waters, which were called after him, were to be brought to Rome by means of an aqueduct which is still used. His personal intervention was necessary to bring this undertaking to a satisfactory conclusion. Accompanied by only three cardinals, he went to the spot, and accepted at Zagarola the hospitality of Marzio Colonna, and returned to Rome after five days' absence. After many difficulties, outbursts of passion, and by dint of great constancy and energy, that colossal work, which was begun shortly after his accession, was terminated in the space of three years. The 'acqua Felice' was henceforth to benefit regions which hitherto had been deserted and sterile. Houses could now be built along those avenues which the Pope designed across vineyards and plantations, across a few modern structures and antique monuments which he mercilessly sacrificed whenever they found themselves in the way of these new endless alleys. Even a church and some chapels were victims to the straight line. From all parts the murmurs of the people were heard. Monsignor Gerino echoes these complaints in writing to the Grand-Duke: 'To make new streets,' says he, 'houses are pulled down, even places of devotion: to build a library at the Belvedere (of the Vatican), the perspective of the noble theatre (Bramante's Court) is spoilt. Not even the portico of St. Peter's and the fine masterpiece of Giollo, called the Navicella, are excepted. Not only do the architects and intelligent men exclaim, but even the Sacred College complains; but here neither men nor buildings are spared. Fort St. Angelo alone triumphs; for, instead of

stones, it is getting full of gold.' Notwithstanding these outbreaks, which were partially justified, the great streets which cross a part of Rome, that part which is the least inhabited and the most hilly, were finished. Houses and a few palaces, such as that of the Mattei with the four fountains (Albani, now Del Diago), rose as if by enchantment. Coaches could henceforth drive in a straight and the shortest line from the Trinità dei Monti to Santa Maria Maggiore and thence to the Palace of San Marco, from the St. Lawrence Gate to the above-named basilica, and from that same gate to the Thermæ of Diocletian; from the Lateran to the Colosseum, and from the Porta Salaria to the Strada Pia. Earthworks were raised and rendered easier the approach to Santa Maria Maggiore. The long avenue which connects that church with St. John Lateran was also raised. We have seen and do see greater works now-a-days; but if the impulse comes from the Government, the work is carried on by credit, speculation, and by capital which seeks an employment. Nothing of the kind existed in the time of Sixtus V. He had conceived the works, he directed them, he paid for them, and he it was who found the means of spending considerable sums, while he regulated the price of wages. He sold to private individuals the lands which had hitherto been rendered barren by lack of water, or inaccessible because there were no streets that led to them, and because they were covered with ruins. He it was who knew how to meet his expenses, and yet fill the St. Angelo fort with gold instead of stones, as he was reproached with doing.

The Europe of his day, seeing all that he had done in five years, was mute with astonishment. This is easily explained when the ignorance of men as regards mechanical arts at that time is taken into consideration, and when it is remembered that steam was not yet known as a motive power; that the means of transport now at our disposal were wanting; that there were no railways, and few roads upon which vehicles could be driven.

In five years the Pope completed the building of his chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore,[1] which was begun when he was a cardinal, caused the old Chapel of the Manger to be wholly transported there, levelled the hill, and erected the obelisk which stands there now. He brought to the summit of the Quirinal the waters from the Felice Fountain, twenty miles from Rome. He built the south side of St. John Lateran, called the loggia of Sixtus V. because from it he gave his blessing, erected the obelisk in front of the loggia, cleared the piazza, built the great Palace of the Lateran, and transferred the holy stairs to the neighbourhood.

After raising and levelling the Via Pia so as to allow the gate of that name to be seen from the Quirinal, he rebuilt the small palace of Cardinal d'Este which had been turned by Gregory XIII. into a summer residence for the Popes. The main body of the building, forming an angle of the great palace which now stands there, is his work He had scandalised the Venetian ambassadors by telling them that he had replaced his predecessor's arms by his

[1] It is now being restored, at the expense of His Holiness Pius IX.

own. Paul V., who had added to the building and transformed the two portals, acted in a similar way. The Borghese Dragon succeeded the bear and the pear of the Peretti. Sixtus V. further erected before the palace, at the spot where they now stand, the celebrated antiques which give to that hill the popular name of 'Monte Cavallo.'

On the Piazza di Vaticano he erected the Obelisk of Nero, and built the library, but destroyed, alas, for that purpose, the splendid court of Bramante: connected the apartments with the church by a staircase which began at the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel, and finished at that of the Gregorian or Holy Saviour.[1] He raised the great tower of the Belvedere; and finally began and completed in the space of twenty-two months that marvel of the world, the cupola of St. Peter. Men were at work on it both day and night and even on feast-days, Sundays excepted. When he died all that was wanting was the lead covering and the lantern. His last work was the wing of the palace of the Vatican, which was finished by Clement VIII., and which has never since ceased to be the residence of the Popes.

We have already enumerated the large streets which he had planned. Along some of these avenues, some thickly populated districts have arisen. In other parts, silence and solitude continue to reign. Owing to the railway station, to the increasing influx of strangers, and to the fresh buoyancy of public speculation, the favourite quarter of Sixtus V. is now being built up with fine and

[1] It is now used by the Holy Father to go to St. Peter's.

graceful houses. If the Pope could be witness of the activity which reigns in that part of the town, he might perhaps regret to see that right of dispossessing the holder of a house, which he had himself so summarily used, applied to his own dear vineyard; but he would perhaps be a little consoled on finding that Rome continues to be the Eternal City, since she is not condemned to inactivity, but advances with the times, slowly and prudently. What Sixtus did in that very quarter of the town has since been done to his own grounds. To facilitate access to the railway terminus, some of the portals of his garden have been pulled down, just as he pulled down the magnificent pillars and vaults of the Thermæ to build his palace, and levelled the piazza before the church of Michael Angelo. In the book which Domenico Fontana published under the Pope's auspices, and copies of which were presented to the ambassadors, giving an account of the buildings raised during the reign of Sixtus, Fontana actually was ingenuous enough to number these demolitions among the works which reflected credit upon his master. 'The Holy Father,' says he, 'has spoilt (*guastare*) the antique ruins which obstructed the entrance to Sta. Maria de' Angeli.' That architect also states, without malice, however, or any desire to allude to the calling which, according to Pasquino, the Pope's sister had followed in her youth, that, in the middle of the piazza which was surrounded by the shops of Donna Camilla, His Holiness had caused a public lavatory to be built for the use of the washerwomen, and another near the Trevi Fountain, which had not yet its baroque and too

much praised decoration, but the delicious waters of which possessed already in the mind of the people the power of bringing back to Rome the strangers who had drunk of them.

Never forgetting his Slavonian origin, Sixtus erected the Church and Hospital of St. Jerome of the Slavonians, which still exist. He intended to connect with that foundation the college which they possessed at Loretto, and to found another for the use of the Poles. He wanted for this purpose to buy the neighbouring palace of Cardinal Deza, which, as it may be remembered, had become the Palace of the Borghese.

The mendicants, who formerly infested the streets of Rome, were against their will sent to the asylum built by the Pope near the Sistine bridge. It is now the Asylum of the Hundred Priests, which is a hospital for sick priests.

We must not forget to mention the restoration of the columns of Trajan and of Antonine, which were henceforth consecrated to religion, and crowned with gilt bronze statues of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

Among the numerous churches repaired at his expense, that of St. Sabine, on the Aventine Mount, is the most important. The College of the 'Marchigiani,' his compatriots at Bologna, the aqueduct which supplies Civita Vecchia, the improvement of the towns of Loretto and Montalto, are also due to Sixtus V.

All these works were directed by Fontana, except indeed the cupola of St. Peter, which was executed

after the designs of Michael Angelo by one of his most devoted pupils, Giacomo della Porta, who was then a septuagenarian. Owing to his advanced age, the Pope's architect was commissioned to help him; and though Giacomo figures in history as the constructor of the cupola, a great portion of the merit reverts to Domenico Fontana. That extraordinary man—if one may so call a man who is wanting in genius—united, with that single important exception, all the qualities which could render him pleasing to his master. Quick-sighted, honest, and courageous, he was unequalled among his contemporaries in technical science. Pre-eminent as a mason and engineer, he was a second-rate artist. With few exceptions, his designs are wanting in grace and elegance, though not in grandeur. His style, as we have said, was something between the classic tendencies of Vignola and the baroque style which was already beginning to be fashionable. Such as he was, Fontana was the man wanted. A man of genius would have revolted against the imperious exigencies of Sixtus V., who disposed of times and places as he did of men and things, but who also wanted to rule over the Muses, and forgot that the sacred fire is not lit when a man wishes it, but burns in its own time, and goes out when brought into contact with the profane. Fontana did not run the same risk. He claimed nothing for inspiration. His drawings are those of a thorough engineer-architect, who fears no obstacles because he knows how to get over them; who spares his means, looks to the essential; adds, or sim-

plifies, or repeats, according to his master's wish, the same subjects or the same decorations; who seldom fails in his proportions, and never in his knowledge of the laws of mechanism; who certainly does not reach an ideal of beauty, but does not fall short of that ideal completely. In less than five years Sixtus V. would have completely exhausted and ruined a Bramante. The works of Fontana show no indication of fatigue. They have not the same character of originality, for, as we have seen, they were prepared a long time beforehand, not on paper, but in the mind of the Pope and of his architect. They are somewhat like the products from a manufactory; but it must be owned that that manufactory was wonderfully well organized and well directed. He was a remarkable man who could direct it, and give to the workmen the activity, energy, and constancy with which he was himself imbued. If, on the one hand, Fontana owes his celebrity less to the artistic value than to the number and extent of his works, to the fabulous rapidity with which they were executed—in fact to Sixtus himself, who employed him, and whom he resembles in many respects—it must be allowed, on the other hand, that the latter owes to Fontana a great portion of the prestige which surrounded him.

'I am in Rome,' writes, shortly after the Pope's death, the witty Abbé of the Benedictines of Mantua, Padre Don Angelo Grillo, 'after an absence of ten years, and do not recognise it, so new does all appear to me to be: monuments, streets, piazzas, fountains,

aqueducts, obelisks, and other wonders, all the work of Sixtus V. . . . . If I were a poet I would say that to the imperious sound of the trumpet of that magnanimous Pope, the wakened limbs of that half-buried and gigantic body which spreads over the Latin Campagna have replied—that, thanks to the power of that fervent and exuberant spirit, a new Rome has arisen from its ashes.'[1]

[1] Lettere di D. Angelo Grillo. Venice, 1612.

CHAPTER IV.

RELATIONS OF SIXTUS V. WITH HIS FAMILY.

Notwithstanding the enormous expense to which his buildings gave rise, notwithstanding the million of scudi annually deposited in the coffers of the State, Sixtus V. was rich enough too to be generous to his family. An enemy of nepotism in principle, and therefore less given to it than most of the Popes of his century, or those of the century which followed his, he was under the influence of the spirit of the day, which allowed each Pope to bring into the Roman nobility a fresh princely family. As we have seen, he had made a cardinal of his grand-nephew, Alexander, who was only thirteen years of age, and his brother Michael was only eight years old when he was appointed General of Holy Church. The salaries were appropriate to the dignity. Donna Camilla amassed considerable riches, and indulged in profitable speculations by buying land, and covering a portion of the Esquiline with shops,[1] which she let out at a large rent. No more did she despise the gifts which King Philip, the Republic of Venice, the Grand-

[1] 'Where are the Thermæ? The Signora Camilla had built a palace and thirty shops on one side which are finished, and as many on the other, which will bring her in a large revenue.'—MS. in the Bibl. Imp. Paris.

Duke of Tuscany, and other important personages, presented to her occasionally. She was not afraid even of embarking in important speculations. She thus intended to purchase of the Prince of Besignano the 'gabelle' levied on the silks of Calabria, which brought in 80,000 scudi; but the Pope opposed this wish.[1] He, however, overwhelmed her with different presents. He made her a gift of several freeholds, and, amongst others, of his vineyard and villa at the Thermæ, and supplied her with a household, which was composed of a lady-in-waiting, two equerries, a majordomo, a chaplain and a secretary, a cook, two footmen, two pages, two messengers, and a few valets, who wore the ripe pear and green leaf-coloured livery which the Pope had devised when he was a cardinal. He gave her, besides, two carriages, each drawn by two mules, and a pension of 1,000 scudi a month. It was a small and well-organised establishment, that had nothing exaggerated in its composition. Sixtus V. is said[2] to have chosen the occasion to advise his sister not to forget her humble origin, nor ever to give scandal by exhibiting too much luxury, or wishing to mix herself up with State affairs. Donna Camilla followed the advice of her brother, at least as long as he lived. After his death, it is true, she was a little talked of, owing to the splendour of her household and the number of her carriages; but generally she lived very simply, occasionally had cardinals to dinner, gave her grandsons, during Carnival time, the pleasure of a

[1] Badoer to the Doge. 1590.
[2] Codice Ottobonico, quoted by Prince Massimo.

theatrical entertainment, and once or twice accepted at Palò the princely hospitality of Cardinal Farnese.[1] Like all who came from the Marches, she had retained a great liking for her country, and, on the only occasion when she revisited it, left many traces of her munificence. Her manners were perfect, and everyone admired the tact and ease with which she had learnt the ways and tone of society. Although a complete stranger to business, she daily saw her brother. When it was a question of obtaining small favours or secondary appointments, she could be of some use. We do not fear being unfair to her memory if we admit that this was a means of her making money. It has been seen how broad the views of the day were on such matters. The ambassadors of Venice, of Tuscany, and all the smaller diplomatists, paid her great court. M. de Pisany and Count Olivarès, though less attentive, had an excellent understanding with her and her family. No political cloud ever disturbed the serenity of this understanding.[2] The sister and grand-nephews were provided for, and, if we are to credit public opinion, they were provided for too well. Sometimes the Pope felt that he must excuse his weakness for them. He told Badoer one day that the Abbey of Three Fountains, that of the Cardinal of Vercelli, and many others were vacant, but that he would not do as

[1] In 1594 Donna Camilla and her two grandsons had ten carriages, the number of private carriages then in Rome being 883.

[2] The register of the parish of Santa Maria in Via Lata shows that on February 17, 1590, a daughter of Count Olivarès was held over the baptismal font by Donna Flavia Orsina Peretti, grand-niece of Sixtus V., at the very time that the Pope and Olivarès were most at war.

his predecessors had done. The cardinals begged of him to give them to Montalto, but he would dispose of them otherwise. He complained of the freedom of speech used against him, of the sarcastic remarks of which he was the object, and ordered the Governor to seize the guilty, and to send them before the Tribunal of the Inquisition.

The two granddaughters of Donna Camilla, Flavia and Orsina (Ursula), were still children, but Sixtus V. felt he had no time to lose—he must marry them. He first thought of Ranuzio, hereditary Prince of Parma. The secret opposition of Philip II. foiled the Pope's plan of placing a Peretti on an Italian throne. The King was afraid that such a union, by bringing more together the Court of Parma and Cardinal Montalto and the creatures of Sixtus V., might insure the election of Cardinal Farnese.[1] The Pope condescended to be revenged on Duke Alexander by ordering a revision of the titles of the fiefs situated round Orvieto, one of which, Castiglione, belonged to that prince.

After a long negotiation, during which the Pope interfered personally, a marriage was arranged between Flavia Peretti and Don Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano, son of Paolo Giordano, who murdered the uncle of the bride, and of Isabella sister of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany; another marriage was arranged between Orsina Peretti and Don Marco Antonio Colonna, Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, nephew of the illustrious Marco Antonio Colonna. The two sisters received each 100,000 scudi as a dowry,

[1] Badoer to the Doge, June 10, 1589.

and 20,000 scudi pin-money placed out in 'Montis' at six per cent., 'in order,' said Sixtus V., 'that they may buy a pair of shoes without asking their husbands' permission.'

Duke Bracciano, who was then absent from Rome, was represented at the wedding by Monsignor Usimbaldi, Bishop of Arezzo.

The Constable was only twelve years of age, and his bride ten. The Patriarch of Jerusalem married them. After the ceremony the little bride took out of her pocket a document, which she gave to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, and which was the bull by which the Pope conferred the priory of Venice upon him, as well as the gratuity which she herself offered him on the occasion of her marriage. The presents were considerable on both sides. A solitaire and a necklace of pearls sent by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany to his new niece, the Duchess Bracciano, were specially admired. When, a few months later, the husband arrived in Rome, the Pope invited the young couple to a family repast, which was to take place in his apartment; but bad news having that morning come from Poland, from France, and from Venice, he did not deem it right to assist. His guests dined alone, and were afterwards taken to his wardrobe, where they selected some precious articles. There were also many madrigals composed. The love of rhyming was as great then as in the time of Petrarch, of Count Boiardo and of Ariosto, but the lines were not so good. It would even be difficult to find some that are worse. Sixtus appointed the two husbands, who were the two heads

of the principal branch of the Houses of Colonna and Orsini, assistant princes to the Pontifical throne, and decided that the age of the holders of these appointments would in future regulate the long-disputed question of precedence among those two illustrious families. That dignity, which is the highest that a Pope can confer upon a civilian, has been maintained in those families up to the present day.

The future of the Peretti, who had so suddenly reached the summit of grandeur, was entirely centred in the person of Michael. He was to continue the family, and his great uncle was to give him the means of doing honour to his name, which lately was so obscure, but henceforth belonged to history, and to help him to contract a great marriage. Future generations would thus perpetuate the illustrious memory of Sixtus V. The Pope did all that his conscience, which to our mind was not sufficiently scrupulous in these matters, could allow of his doing. Michael Peretti, General of Mother Church, Governor of the Borgo, Captain of the Pontifical Guard—since the purchase by the Pope in 1589,[1] for 187,500 scudi, of the land situated in the States of the Duke of Mantua, Marquess of Incisa and Count of Calusio—was instituted universal legatee of Donna Camilla.[2] That lady employed the money which she had economized and the private fortune which her brother left to her in purchasing from the Orsini the Marquisate of Mentana, from the

[1] In anticipation of Michael's death, the Pope invested the two brothers conjointly.

[2] See the notary acts of Picchinelli, April 22, 1589, and the donation 'inter vivos' of September 20, 1590.

Piccolomini the towns of Venafro and Piscina, and Colmo situated in the kingdom of Naples. All these various fiefs and domains became the property of Michael,[1] to whom Philip II. gave the title of Prince of Venafro.

At the age of thirteen he married Donna Margarita Cavasio della Somaglia, only daughter of Count Alfonso of Milan, and of a Cabrera of Bovadilla, Countess of Chinchon. She was one of the richest heiresses of Europe. Philip II. facilitated the marriage by authorizing Michael, contrary to the laws of the country, to enjoy the revenues of his wife's dowry without residing in the duchy of Milan.[2] Certainly, were Providence to delight in promoting the views of the Pope, the Peretti were destined henceforth to shine from century to century side by side with the proudest Roman dynasties, among whom some claim a descent from Cæsar, or from the heroes of the Republic, and others, more humbly, from nephews of Popes only.

In his anxiety for the future of his family, Sixtus did not forget the past. He had not forgotten the son of his sister who had been so much regretted, the unfortunate Francesco, the husband of the still more unfortunate Accoramboni. The Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, destined to serve as a vault for the Peretti, was hardly finished when the Pope had the body of Francesco, which had been buried in the Church of Santa Maria dei Angeli, transported thither.

[1] By a fresh will of Donna Camilla, 1596.

[2] The young Countess della Somaglia brought her husband a dowry of 25,000 gold scudi. Her father's fortune was valued at 20,000 scudi a year clear.—*Avvisi.*

That mournful ceremony was performed with great splendour. Eighteen cardinals, created by Sixtus V., in violet copes, their mourning vestments, surrounded the catafalque which had been raised beneath the vast vaults of the Thermæ, which Michael Angelo had transformed into a temple. The Patriarch of Jerusalem pronounced the absolution. The canons of the Liberian Basilica, the pontifical chapel, monks of various orders, and especially of that to which the Pope had belonged, followed or preceded the funeral car, each bearing a torch. All Rome was on foot to witness this immense procession, which came down slowly along the Esquiline slope, round the gardens of the Villa Peretti, up the steep avenue of the Basilica, to the sumptuous mausoleum of the dead man's uncle. Here were deposited the remains of the unknown young man who never attracted public attention except by his tragic end, who now attracted it a second time by the splendours of his funeral, and was likely to be forgotten so soon as the tomb should have been closed over him. That day Sixtus V. shed many tears. Bitterness, perhaps remorse, would have mingled with his tears had he foreseen that, at no far distant time, death would strike the last member of his family, that the riches gathered by his too tender care would disappear, and that nothing was to remain of the Peretti except the imperishable memory of his own pontificate.

PART THE SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE.

France, torn by internal dissensions, and exhausted by a long series of intestine wars, seemed doomed to an imminent and inevitable ruin. In the midst of party conflicts the power of royalty had vanished, and the last prestige of sovereignty held by Henry III. had disappeared. The Protestants were grouped around the King of Navarre, the partisans of the League round the Guises. Political men there were also who sought for success in alternately helping the defenders and the enemies of the old faith. But the heads of each party aimed at the same end, the possession of power, and to succeed to the Valois, whose line was about to become extinct. They all called for help. The Duke of Guise expected it from the King of Spain: Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé from the Queen of England and the Protestant princes of the Empire. All were resolved to sacrifice their common country to their individual ambition, and were resigned beforehand if

necessary to share the spoils either between them or with the foreigner. They were, in fact, determined to dismember France.

Since the Edict of the Pacification, signed, in 1580, at the 'Chateau de Fleix,' which put an end to the 'Lovers' War,' a sort of truce had followed the open hostilities; but that peace, which was not peace, had benefited neither the Crown nor the country. It had merely allowed the governors of provinces to become so many petty kings, and, by consolidating their assumed power, completely to do away with the royal authority. It was thus that the Duke of Guise, and his brothers, the Dukes of Mayenne and Aumale, governed in Champagne, in Lorraine, and in Picardy; their cousin, the Duke of Mercœur, in Brittany; Lesdiguières in the Dauphiné, Henry of Bearn in Guienne, and Marshal Montmorency in Languedoc. In the year which preceded the election of Sixtus V., the death of the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, had revived the hopes and active efforts of the Duke of Guise. Afraid of becoming himself a candidate for the throne, he agreed with the old chiefs of the Holy Union and with Philip II. that the Cardinal de Bourbon should be put forward as the successor of Henry III., in the event of the latter dying without issue, a result of which there was no question. Three months before the Pope's election the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne signed, on January 16, 1585, with the representatives of Spain and of the Cardinal de Bourbon, the secret convention known as the Treaty of Joinville. By this treaty the Cardinal de Bourbon was acknowledged to be

the heir to the crown of France, on condition that all heretic princes be excluded from the succession. King Philip engaged to support the League with troops. All navigation in the direction of the Catholic King's possessions beyond the sea was considered illicit; and this concession, which was so prejudicial to French commerce, was like a first instalment of the much more important sacrifices which the members of the Coalition seemed to be prepared to bear in order to secure the help of Spain. This treaty alarmed the Protestant party, who, at the call of Henry of Navarre, had recourse to arms.

It may be conceived how angry, how anxious, and how perplexed were the inmates of the Louvre. Civil war was about to break out afresh, this time with the connivance and the secret but active support of the King of Spain. While Queen Catharine implored her son to come to an understanding with his rebellious vassals, the latter, on the contrary, feigned a willingness to call the Protestants to his aid. He listened to the advances of the King of Navarre, of Queen Elizabeth, of the Dutch insurgents: received in solemn audience a deputation from the latter, and the Order of the Garter from an English embassy. To the King's demonstration the heads of the League replied by actions. On March 30, at Peronne, they published their manifesto, signed by Cardinal de Bourbon, first prince of the blood royal. In April they were masters of Champagne, of a portion of Picardy, of Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, and of several important towns. The King's generals, the Dukes of Epernon and Joyeuse, had, it is

true, a few advantages on the Loire and in Normandy, and an attempt at insurrection at Marseilles broke down. These insignificant successes, however, could not counterbalance the enormous losses which the Crown had experienced from the very first days of this fresh revolt.

Matters were in this state when the King of Navarre, in order to attract Henry III. into his camp, published his Declaration of Bergerac on June 10, 1585. He believed, he said, in the doctrines of the Catholic faith, and bowed to the decrees of the ancient and legitimate councils. He was ready to restore to the King the places of safety which had been intrusted to his keeping and to that of the Prince of Condé, if the heads of the League gave up their own governorships. To prevent any effusion of blood, he conceived the strange notion of calling out the Duke of Guise in single combat. These advances were not productive of any results. For two months the Queen-Mother had been negotiating with the heads of the Coalition, and it was soon seen that her son's apparent wish to secede from the Catholic party, which for a time had alarmed the Catholic world, was but a vain and powerless threat.

When Sixtus V. became Pope, the atmosphere of the Vatican was entirely Spanish. The great majority in the Sacred College sympathised with Spain. In all that concerned France, Gregory XIII. had been influenced by Spanish opinions. Was not Philip the great defender, and Henry of Navarre the declared enemy, of the Catholic religion? That alone would have been sufficient to determine the policy of the old

Pontiff, even had not his prime minister, the Cardinal of Como, together with his Court, most of the cardinals, and Count Olivarès, taken care that he should follow in that line, and, if at all hesitating, be maintained in it. In official regions the influence of Spain was such that, to escape it, Gregory must have had very different convictions to those which he possessed, and an energy of character which he completely lacked. Opposition to Spain was, however, not wanting. The National opinion, or, as it was already called, 'Italian,' though in a very different sense from that which we know it by now-a-days, ruled supreme outside the doors of the Vatican. That opinion called, not for the union of all the Italian States into one single State, but for the independence of each State in Italy from foreign interference. Many a time did that public opinion force its way into the Vatican and stop the Pope at critical moments. Thus the heads of the League had asked Gregory to publish a bull declaring himself in their favour. The Spanish ambassador had strenuously supported their request, but this time Gregory resisted. He dared not go against his conscience and against that national opinion which, though excluded from a voice in the State, was nevertheless strong enough to force him to take notice of its tendency. The Pope refused to publish the bull, but he authorised Cardinal de Sens to transmit words of comfort to the Duke of Guise, and gave similar messages to Father Matthew, of the Society of Jesus, who was constantly going to and fro between Paris and Rome. This is all that Gregory did by way of intervention; but the heads of

the League changed the character of the letter of the Cardinal de Sens, and spread the report that, by a bull, the Pope had sanctioned their doings.

While Henry III., who was very anxious as to the position taken up by the Vatican, forwarded his complaints and his threats to the cardinal-protector of his interests at Rome, and while the latter reassured him as to the intentions of the Court of Rome, Gregory XIII. departed this life. It mattered little henceforth that his timid sympathy for the League and his name should be made use of in its cause. But what was to be the line of conduct of his successor? The question was freely asked. Henry III. felt how great had been his mistake in apparently and not really drawing nearer to the chief of the Huguenots. He therefore hastened to profess his fidelity to the Pope, and to make excuses for his former conduct. 'A prince, such as I am and wish to be as long as I live,' he wrote to Cardinal d'Este, 'does not deserve to be censured and accused of want of respect and want of zeal in the religious cause, as I am, to my regret.'

The representatives and adherents of both parties in Rome, of the League or Spanish party, and of the French or National party (for thus they must be designated), at once set to work. Without taking account of the majority in the Sacred College, of the Pope's surroundings, and of the numerous agents of the Holy Union, Count Olivarès and the Cardinal of Sens were the principal advocates of the Coalition. Cardinal d'Este and the Marquis of Pisany were in the opposite camp, so was the Venetian envoy, who, though he only

appeared in a secondary position, and surrounded himself by a thousand precautions, was in reality more influential than the official agents of Henry III. These were supported by Italian opinion, and caused a host of people to interfere on their behalf, who for some reason or another had access to the newly-elected Pontiff. The correspondents of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany were among the number. Olivarès and the Cardinal of Sens appealed to the religious feelings of Sixtus V. The League, they said, defends the faith. The blessing and avowed support of the Church must therefore be granted to it. Cardinal d'Este and Pisany appealed to his feelings as a sovereign. According to them, the partisans of the League were mere rebels, who hid behind the mask of religion their ambitious and anti-national designs, and who jeopardized religion, for they forced the King to throw himself into the arms of the Huguenots. Priuli, the Venetian diplomatist, expatiated on the political merits of the question. According to him, the League was not strong enough to conquer heresy. It required a support. That support must come from Spain. Spain would gain the victory and reap the rewards of victory.

The fight once begun, it was carried on with animosity on all sides in Rome. Unlike what had been done in France, no pamphlets were published, and the street was no party to the fighting going on in the ante-rooms and closet of the Pope; but the war was waged severely, and the combatants did not always use the most civil language towards one another. Several scenes took place between the cardinals of Este and of

Sens which were not creditable to Princes of the Church, and which amused the society and public of the Holy City. The cardinal-protector declared 'that he would not have any further acquaintance, or anything to do in future, with that bad and pernicious nature which delights in making mischief and in speaking ill of everyone.' Matters had reached such a point that it became a serious question whether they should not both be sent away. Political considerations overruled the decision. Sixtus V. did not carry out his threat, and the two antagonists continued to fight each time they met. Cardinal de Sens amused the Pope, who did not always consider him in earnest, and laughed at the violent politician, who, believing himself to be the best informed cardinal in the Sacred College, never brought the Pope any news except that which was false or stale.

Sixtus V., seeing that he was a prey to these intrigues, and being very imperfectly acquainted with the true state of things in France; finding, on the other hand, that the Vatican was entirely invaded by Spanish influences, with which he did not sympathise, but to which he could not help yielding in a certain measure, vainly sought to get out of the labyrinth of difficulties in which he was entangled. His inexperience in such matters, his long absence from power, which was the necessary consequence of his disgrace, added to his perplexities. That Henry of Navarre was a heretic, unworthy of any regard, who should be condemned and excluded from the succession to the throne, was what the Pope firmly believed. This side of the

question he erroneously looked at with the eyes of a priest only, and was, in this respect, of the opinion which had been expressed to him by Olivarès and by the Cardinal of Sens. But what was he to do, now that the deplorable division between the King and the Guises had been renewed, and that by it the Catholics were divided into two camps, and France was delivered over as it were to the Spaniards? His instinct and judgment came to his rescue. He felt that it was necessary to put an end to these dissensions, and to try and unite all the Catholics of France under one banner. Was it possible? He hoped so, and this error tends further to show how ignorant he was of France and of its men. In fine all his sympathies went with Henry III., not as a prince, for he had a small opinion of him, but as the legitimate king. The partisans of the League were rebels, who were unfortunately the defenders of the faith, so they at least professed themselves to be, while the Very Christian King threatened to apostatize. How could he then refuse to listen to them? how could he help supporting them, or enlightening or directing them towards that great object which was not to occupy territories belonging to their sovereign, but to combat and annihilate heresy and the heretics? Going therefore against his feelings, his instinct, and his judgment, Sixtus V. showed himself disposed to favour the League.

About this time, the Duke of Nevers, accompanied by the Cardinal de Vaudemont, arrived in Rome. He was sent by the Coalition. On the 1st of June 1585 he made his solemn entry. His brother-in-law

Cardinal d'Este, Cardinal de' Medici, and all the French cardinals went to meet him. On alighting from his carriage he received a letter from the Spanish ambassador full of information and of useful advice. He at once placed himself in communication with that powerful auxiliary. Not to attract too much attention by too frequent interviews, they made use of a common friend, Scipio Gonzaga, as an intermediary. Nevers did nothing without consulting Olivarès, and the latter endeavoured to soften down every difficulty for the ambassador of the Guises.

The Duke's mission was to obtain a bull, which, in the eyes of the world, would give the League the official support of the Holy See, and to ask besides for a bull declaring Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé incapable of ever succeeding to the throne of France.

These two questions formed the subject of many a long discussion between Nevers and Philip's ambassador. 'Insist,' said the latter, 'upon the Pope's seeing the drafts of the letters which the Cardinal of Sens wrote formerly with the sanction of Pope Gregory. Appeal specially to the religious sentiments of His Holiness, for he is full of zeal for all that concerns the faith.' As to the 'depriving' bull, Olivarès, at the instance of his master, asked that not only Henry of Bearn and the Prince of Condé, but that likewise the Catholic children of the latter should be excluded. The Duke opposed it. 'An extension of the declaration of incapacity to Catholic princes would,' he said, 'displease the Parliament as well as the French public, who

would say that it was the result of a political not of a religious measure, and who would in fact see in it only a suggestion of Spain. It would be found to be neither just nor reasonable. This was also the opinion of the tribunal of the Inquisition, to which Sixtus had already referred the matter. It declared that the Pope alone could, if he thought fit, declare Catholic children to be debarred from the succession, but *ex officio* and without the interference of the interested parties.

Nevers did not hide from Olivarès how unpopular the Court of Spain was, not only with the royalists, but even with the partisans of the League, while he agreed that there was a great community of interests between the League and the Court of Spain. 'We, no doubt,' he said, 'want the support of the Catholic King, but His Majesty wants us also. If a Protestant prince ascends the throne of France it is all over with the Catholic religion, not only with us, but also in Flanders; and very probably the Netherlands would be lost to Spain. His Majesty must help us, and give us money; but he must do so secretly; for such are the prejudices, the passions, and the ignorance of the French public, that the very name of Spain is sufficient to excite suspicion, and to make the allies unpopular. If the Pope gives a subsidy, it can be supposed that the Spanish subsidies also come from Rome.'

But Sixtus V. had no idea of spending any money. Olivarès knew it well. When he learnt that Pisany and Cardinal d'Este had asked for a monthly subsidy of 4,000 scudi for Henry III., in order to carry on war against the heretics, he advised Nevers to do the same

for the League. 'Tell His Holiness that to refuse to you what he would give to the King would be to declare himself the enemy of God's cause, which is that of the League; and mention the favourites of the King, into whose hands the money would probably find its way.' This ruse had the success which Olivarès expected. The representatives of Henry III. could obtain nothing.

The Holy Father had received the envoys from the Guises most graciously. He did not spare them, however, and scolded them well for having rebelled against their sovereign. He allowed, however, that there were extenuating circumstances, and excused them, as it were, by setting forth the indirect approval which his predecessor had given them. He had, said he, favoured the League and had been a consenting party to it. Nevers and Vaudemont thought they saw in the Pope similar dispositions. Sixtus justified the distrust with which their king inspired them, but strongly insisted on the necessity of coming to an understanding. 'Place yourselves,' he said, 'in communication with Pisany and with D'Este. Treat with them in a kind and friendly manner. Concert among you for some means of arrangement. Show me your plans, and we will advise. If you cannot agree, we will ourselves take up the matter.' To their repeated requests about the bull, he replied evasively.

After a stay of two weeks, the Duke and the Cardinal left Rome on their return to France. Besides a few amiable but vain encouragements, they brought home, not a bull—for they were not able to obtain one, owing to the Pope's distrust—but a brief, addressed to the

Cardinal of Bourbon and his friends, which was less explicit, but which they hoped to turn to use.

Two events marked the departure of this embassy. The Duke of Nevers, when about to mount his horse, felt suddenly a scruple of conscience. Had he done right to join the League? was it not a breach of faith—an act of rebellion? He went at once to Cardinal Madruccio and opened his heart to him. It required two hours of oratorical endeavours before his timid soul could be satisfied. The Duke's anxiety was not a sudden one. It coincided with the arrival of letters from France, which, thanks to the active diplomacy of the Queen-Mother, announced as certain the peace made between the King and the League. Some laughter was therefore caused by the political remorse of Nevers, who left amidst the jeering of the Romans.

The great question was always that of depriving the King of Navarre of the succession, which had been solicited by the delegates of the Holy Union. At their last audience, the Cardinal de Vaudemont made a final effort. The Holy Father replied gently, 'We cannot do what you ask for, because it is not usual with us to condemn people without hearing them. It will always be time enough to do this.' When the Cardinal insisted, he answered roughly, 'We have told you why we must not do such a thing; now we tell you we will not do it.'

But, notwithstanding this categorical refusal, the Pope's mind was half made up. In his opinion the excommunication and exclusion from the succession of the King of Navarre had almost become a necessity.

Such an act, however, was to be shorn of any political character, and, instead of appearing as the result of the steps taken by the League, to seem as if it emanated direct from the Pope. The Inquisition and the Sacred College were still debating the matter when the news arrived of the peace of Nemours (signed on the 9th of July 1585), which had been so carefully arranged by the Queen-Mother, and by which Henry III. engaged not to tolerate the new religion, to give governments and places as securities to the principal leaders of the League, and to revoke the edicts of peace and tolerance. All this was an additional reason why the bull should be fulminated, why the abyss should be widened which in future was to separate the Huguenot king from the French Catholics of every shade of political opinion.

Cardinal d'Este and Pisany had fought against a resolution which seemed to them to be derogatory to the independence of France, and when they learnt what had passed between the Pope and the Cardinal de Vaudemont, they fancied themselves victorious. Sixtus V. hastened to disenchant them. He called for d'Este, and told him of his resolution, 'taken partly,' he said, 'in order to strengthen the King, for those who will find themselves excluded from the succession will think twice before they conspire against their legitimate sovereign.' Monsignor de Lenoncourt, who, at the request of Henry III., had gone to 'the Béarnais' to instruct him in matters of religion, received peremptory orders from the Pope to return to his diocese. On the 9th of September the bull was placarded in Rome at the accustomed places. Henry of Bearn, supposed

King of Navarre, and Henry of Bourbon, supposed King of Condé, were declared heretics, deprived, themselves and their heirs, of all their sovereign rights, and pronounced incapable of succeeding to the kingdom of France, or to any other dukedom or principality. Their vassals and subjects were released from their oath of allegiance.

This was the first act of Sixtus V. in regard to French affairs, and the act was a mistake which he soon regretted, for which he reproached himself secretly, and which he actually admitted whilst trying to excuse it in his conversations with intimate friends. But, apart from this fault, which his inexperience and Spanish influence may explain, he had the merit of understanding, from the very first day, that the solution of the problem in France lay in the union of all the French Catholics beyond any Spanish interference. On this capital point he judged clearly. Where he hesitated was as to the means of execution; and what the principal actors and witnesses in the matter took for indecision of character and fickleness, was in reality but a natural consequence of certain given circumstances. Sometimes disposed, though feebly, to favour the League, he strove to dissolve it by effecting its union with the Royalists. This fact once accomplished, though rather in appearance than in reality, and not through his intermediary, as he had hoped at one time, but through the negotiations of the Queen-Mother, he fulminated his edict against the leader of the Huguenots. Henceforth the position of affairs was less intricate. There were no longer more

than two parties in France—the defenders and the enemies of religion. If the reconciliation was sincere, if the late coalesced members of the League frankly joined their legitimate king, then the whole of Catholic France would march against the heretics, and religion, as well as France, would be saved. The grave question of succession could then be discussed; it could then be solved, and, what was essential, it could be settled without the interference of Spain.

Such was the reasoning of Sixtus V. It was a just one, though only on one condition, which was that the reconciliation now officially proclaimed by the Treaty of Nemours between the King and the heads of the League should be sincere. This he believed to be possible, because as yet he did not know France; but this hope appeared a delusive one to those who knew that country.

CHAPTER II.

PROSPECTS OF CATHOLICITY IN FRANCE.

It is scarcely necessary to summarize here the events which followed the conclusion of the Peace of Nemours,—the vicissitudes of the war, the repugnance which the King experienced to confide his armies to the command of the Guises, the scandals of his journey to Lyons, the injurious expressions used by him and by the envoys of the Electors and other Protestant princes during a public audience, his wrath, the invasion of Protestant Germany, the defeat of Joyeuse at Coutras, and the destruction of the German Reiters or volunteer cavalry.

These events run through two years of anxiety and care for Sixtus. Though doing his best to reconcile the King with the League, and the Royalists with the partisans of the princes, he soon lost all illusion as to the solidity of the union which the last treaty had established. Full of distrust, and still more of disgust for the person of Henry III., he had some trouble in disguising his contempt and his sinister forebodings. When the Ambassador of Venice, who came to congratulate him on his accession, offered to interpose his good offices in favour of Henry III. by begging of the Pope to grant that prince authority to alienate a por-

tion of the property of the clergy, the Pope replied coldly, 'We would wish to see His Majesty evince more zeal in the prosecution of the war against the Huguenots. We are surprised that so great a king, notwithstanding the enormous taxes which he levies upon his people, has not considered it advisable to economise for extraordinary cases. He should think seriously, and not fail in his duty; then we would help him.'

The weakness, folly, and want of loyalty apparent at that Court, greatly discouraged the Pope. Not only was the League still in existence, and had not sincerely espoused the cause of the King, but matters had daily grown worse, and distrust on both sides seemed to be justified. As in the past, France lay between a civil war or the triumph of heresy, and a Spanish intervention, which meant its own dismemberment. Sixtus V. still hoped that Queen Elizabeth might be converted. Was the conversion of Henry of Navarre necessarily simulated, as he was assured by the Spaniards and by the partisans of the League? He was disposed to believe it. A doubt was, however, permissible; and on such occasions he regretted the bull against him. Bulls may be revoked. Such things had been done, and this Philip dreaded. 'There are people,' he wrote to Olivarès (1586), 'who hope to shake the determination of the Pope, and to bring him to revoke his bull against Henry of Bearn, and to believe in the sincerity of his conversion, which can but be feigned. I cannot believe it; but the matter is too serious for me not to consider it necessary to call the attention of His Holiness to the subject.

You will give him the inclosed letter, of which I annex a copy, and will tell him from me that I am sure he intends to maintain the little that still remains of Christendom. Call to his memory how great France is. Tell him that as long as heresy has not invaded the head of the State there is hope; but that if the evil takes possession of the sovereign, the whole edifice must fall at once. We have so many instances of this under our eyes, as a punishment for our sins, that it would be useless to enumerate them. I am told from France that steps are taken with His Holiness to obtain that he should allow "the Béarnais" to recant; and thus it is hoped to insure for him the possession of the kingdom. This would be simply setting fire to France. You will make the Pope understand that the present step is not taken through any fear which I may have of "the Béarnais." He is for ever asking me favours and help, and offers all kinds of securities, which I would fain accept; but I act only and exclusively in the service of Our Lord. Let His Holiness be undeceived with regard to the supposed sincerity of "the Béarnais." We might believe in it if he only asked to retire into a monastery and to do penance; but as it is the means for him to succeed to the throne, it is clear it is only a pretence. The Church and the Inquisition declare relapse into heresy to be deserving of capital punishment. *A fortiori* one ought to prevent a man guilty of such a crime from becoming the master of a kingdom like France, which would soon be full of heretics. You will warn His Holiness that, rather than consent to expose my subjects to the danger of heresy by assent-

ing to the proposed revocation, I would take upon myself to favour and protect the Catholics of France. Civil war would be the consequence, and perhaps the dismemberment of France, which, as long as it remains Catholic, is, by its unity and strength, of great use to Christendom, but which, if perverted and doomed to perdition, would present so many dangers for the Christian world that it would become absolutely necessary to reduce its power.[1] To intimidate His Beatitude, he is told that if I insist upon the exclusion of Bearn, and advise the continuance of war on the part of the Catholics, it is because I aim at destroying the strength of each party, and, after their fall, to march upon Italy. Pray combat this error—not in my name, and as if you had to excuse my conduct, but by declaring that if I see that the succession of a heretic to the throne of France is encouraged, I shall come to the rescue of the Catholics. It is the way which will lead to the dismemberment of that kingdom, for whoever can will take a bit of it. The means of preserving its integrity is, that there should be an understanding between His Holiness, ourselves, and the Very Christian King, if he chooses, or between the French Catholics. The object of such an understanding must be the exclusion of all heretical candidates, and the choice of a Catholic who may be able to put an end to the evils in France, in the event of the King not being able to do

[1] 'Con que habria disensiones y guerras y podrian quizá dividirse las fuerzas y poder de aquel Reyno que asi como unido y católico son muy útiles á la cristiandad, asi perbertido y dañado serían tan temerosas á toda Ella que en tal caso sería fuerza procurar que quedasen menores.'

so during his lifetime—an issue of which His Holiness, by all he knows, can judge whether it is to be hoped.'

Such is the manner in which the King of Spain considered the question of succession. In his mind it was paramount in importance, while it was only secondary in the eyes of Sixtus V. To become eligible Henry of Navarre will return to Catholicism. Philip foresees it. His conversion, therefore, must be a pretence. Upon this hypothesis is his reasoning based. He cannot, then, in the interest of religion in general, and of his kingdom in particular, admit the candidature of Henry. If the Pope accepts the conversion of the latter, His Holiness puts forward his candidature and Philip will combat it. He will even have recourse to arms, and, as he says, the dismemberment of France will ensue. He writes this himself to Sixtus V., and instructs his ambassador to speak to him in the same sense. The latter is expressly told not to excuse him to the Pope, but merely to signify his wishes to him. Who will be the Catholic prince whom they will conjointly select as a successor to Henry III.? Philip is careful not to mention anyone. The question had already been discussed between him and Olivarès under the preceding pontificate. The ambassador had gone against the Cardinal de Bourbon, who, he thought, was a dangerous man, and had insinuated the Duke of Montpensier. The King had replied that, while appreciating his arguments, he considered it more prudent not to take as yet any engagement in favour of Montpensier or any other candidate. 'It is sufficient,' he wrote to Olivarès (1584), 'that we should for the

present prevent, by anticipating them, any results which might prove to be prejudicial to the service of God and the good of the public. We must reserve to ourselves the liberty of examining the titles and weighing the strength of the several pretenders, and act according to circumstances.' Thus situated between the pretensions of the King of Spain, who aimed at becoming the arbiter of the destinies of France until he could himself become its master, and his duties as Head of the Church, the Pope spoke much, too much in fact, but did nothing. He watched the progress of events. He let others act, and merely looked on, though not with indifference. The constant complaints of Olivarès about the versatility of Sixtus are, we repeat, unfounded. The men and affairs of France varied, but he did not. When the Nuncio, at the beginning of 1587, wrote to him that Henry III., alarmed by the turbulent disposition of the Parisians, by the attitude taken up by the Guises, and by the general Catholic spirit prevalent in his kingdom, had broken off the negotiations with the King of Navarre, and drawn himself nearer to the Catholic princes, the Pope sent his apostolic blessing not only to the heads of the League, at the request of Cardinal de Sens, but also to the King, exhorting him not to separate his cause from that of religion. And yet Olivarès spoke against the ignorance and instability of the Pope! It is true that he was pleased that the Guises should again be in favour; but his pleasure was not unalloyed, for, according to him, the Pope was not only of a desperately changeable disposition, but his conduct also showed a deplorable

duplicity. As a proof the ambassador mentioned the secret messages of 'the Béarnais' respecting his conversion, which seem to indicate the existence of intimate relations with the Vatican.

When, at the end of that same year, Henry III., on the advice of the Duke of Epernon, stopped the Duke of Lorraine and his army on their way, and declared that, if they entered France, he would join the heretics, Sixtus despaired of him. The Nuncio had informed him of the collecting of troops belonging to the League for the purpose of attacking the King: 'Well,' said he, showing the despatch to Olivarès, 'let the coalesced parties unite, make a grand effort, and finish the matter! If the house is to come down, better pull it down than let it fall upon our heads. If Henry III. carries out his threat of allying himself to the Huguenots, the allies will do well to attack him, and your king will do wisely to turn against France the expedition he has prepared against England.'

He called for M. de Pisany and the Cardinal de Joyeuse, and made them write to the King, that if he thought of peace with the Huguenots, he, the Pope, would oppose him. He reminded them that formerly he had always tried to reassure them whenever they spoke to him of the fears they entertained of finding the armaments of Spain some day turned against France. He had, in fact, assured them that the Catholic King had no such intention; and even were he to have such intentions, he had promised them not to allow it; but now he declared to them solemnly, that he not only withdrew his promise, but was re-

solved, if Henry III. did not change his conduct, to persuade the King of Spain to make use of his forces in order to save France. Olivarès, who was delighted with this change, immediately informed his master of it, but expressed a doubt as to the durability of the sentiment. 'When,' said he, 'the affairs of the League are going on well, the Pope turns in its favour, but this time he has surpassed himself.' The ambassador was in error. Sixtus V. wished for the triumph of Catholicism in France. His support was naturally granted to those who were best disposed and able to promote the cause. As to the manner in which he had received the secret messages of the King of Navarre, the watchful ambassador of Spain could only form conjectures. He guessed rather than knew that the Pope had not wholly given up the solution which he most dreaded, and the prospect of which irritated him and awakened his suspicion.

The Pope at first, after the Peace of Nemours—when Henry III., of whom he then had a more favourable opinion, seemed to be seriously engaged in war against the Huguenots, and when the League disclosed its interested and anti-national projects—tried to be useful to the King by bringing back to his allegiance the partisans of the King of Navarre. He attempted this with the Duke of Montmorency, who held Languedoc for 'the Béarnais.' Rather sharp words passed between him and the French representative on this subject.

At the time of the 'embassy of obedience,' Sixtus V. still had some hope. After the banquet which he had given to the Duke of Luxembourg and M. de Pisany,

he spoke to them with effusion. Pisany wrote on September 17, 1586, to Henry III.: 'He expressed himself sorry at the misfortunes of our country, and greatly blamed the authors of them. He added that God would be merciful to your Majesty, would restore peace to France, and give you a successor; and that he would then propose certain undertakings to occupy the mind and courage of the French, who cannot be idle or leave matters alone. He said that, in the teeth of the Spaniards, we would together go to Tunis, which they had lost so easily, and conquer Algiers; that such were the wars which he discussed and proposed, but not wars against Christians, whatever others might say, since all he wished for was their repentance and their conversion.' In such moments of illusion, when he hoped to see Henry III. act with energy and perseverance, the League was no better in his eyes than a rebellious faction. 'The barons of Rome,' he told the two ambassadors, 'wanted to rebel at the outset of our pontificate. They soon, however, resolved to be good, foreseeing that their lives were in danger, so resolved were we. The same means,' he imprudently added, 'would be efficacious as a remedy in the King's hands.' 'The advice,' said Pisany, at the end of his report to the King, 'referred to the principal personages of the kingdom, who would wish to alter the State, or refuse to obey your Majesty's laws and commands: whereupon he dismissed us.' These good dispositions could not be maintained. The negotiations of the Queen-Mother with Henry of Navarre destroyed in him the last remnants of confidence in or affection for the King. More than once

Pisany tried to convince him of the necessity under which his king was of treating with the Huguenots. The Pope replied (1587) that he had already told him that to do so was to give time to Navarre to complete his armaments. On another occasion he became very angry. 'The King,' said he, 'is deceived by those who surround him; they give him bad advice, and encourage him to treat with the Huguenots, without regard to his dignity or reputation.'

The leader of the Huguenots had addressed himself to the Holy Father, complaining that the bull had been published before he had been heard; that he was treated with less indulgence than the infidels, to whom missionaries were sent. If a theologian were sent to him, he would willingly listen to him, and would give him every security which he might desire. To this the Pope had replied that the Apostles and disciples did not require security for their persons, and that it would be lost time to send any theologian to the King of Navarre.

Events, in fact, were not of a nature to warrant hope for the conversion of Henry. The execution of Mary Stuart at the beginning of the year had revived the courage and the hopes of the Huguenots. Protestant Germany was arming with the purpose of coming to their aid, and preparing to invade France. Sixtus V. was, therefore, full again of the idea of a common action of the armies of the King and of the League. He no longer recommended that the chief rebels should lose their heads, but, on the contrary, that they should be received with open arms. Such an understanding

suited the position of affairs. It was natural that men whom only a common danger was to unite, should separate as soon as the danger was over.

Towards the end of the year two events—the defeat of the Duke of Joyeuse, and the destruction of the Protestant Reiters—afflicted and consoled the belligerents. Henry of Navarre had conquered at Coutras; the Duke of Guise had pursued and defeated the Reiters. Famine, epidemics, and flight had finished them. After the defeat which his favourite had received, and on the occasion of the victory won by his rival, Henry III. made a triumphal entry into his capital, amidst the indifference and sarcastic remarks of the Parisians. He wanted to pass for a hero, and was only laughed at. Heroes there were in France, but he was not one of them. Henceforth there were but two men, the King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise.

The Pope viewed the supposed prowess of Henry in the same light with his people. When M. de Pisany announced to him the defeat of the German cavalry, he received the news coldly and remained silent. When Cardinal de Joyeuse begged that the event should be celebrated in Rome by public rejoicings and thanksgivings, he replied that God had done all, and men nothing. Pisany saw in these words the influence of the Cardinal of Sens, and Joyeuse the regret which the Pope experienced at not having aided the King. The truth is, he did not like to attribute to the King a merit which was due to another; and did not wish to aggravate matters by rejoicing over the victory of the Guises. To get out of the difficulty he therefore

attributed the successes obtained to the interference of Divine Providence; that is, to the illness which had carried off the remains of the German army. M. de Pisany questioned him respecting his silence, which was so offensive to his king: 'Having spoken to me in this wise,' he wrote to Henry III., 'he apparently changed greatly, for, as we were walking up and down his room, he made two or three turns without saying a word, but beating his hands, as is his wont whenever anything annoys him, and then, turning to me, said that he saw two things, which were: the first, that God should be thanked for so signal a miracle performed by Him in favour of religion and of France; and the other, that the event deserved no rejoicings or public marks of pleasure, except that in his heart each man should thank God, for no man had had a share in that victory, and, in fact, that no one had done anything, but, on the contrary, all had left much undone which they could have done. He followed this remark by a number of stories from the Bible, upon which he dilated a long time.'

In the Consistory the Pope expressed himself in a similar sense, but took care not to name Henry. He was observed while speaking to be much moved, and also to make efforts not to allow a word to escape him which might be disobliging to the King of France. When he had finished, the Cardinal de Joyeuse got up to speak of the merits of the Very Christian King, but a look from the Pope stopped him. Frightened by this look, he confined himself to speaking in private to the Pope when the meeting was over, and was very

cautious in his language. But, at the very first words he uttered, the Pope exclaimed, in a passion, 'I tell you that no man has had a share in that victory.' The Cardinal held his tongue, following in this the advice of M. de Pisany, 'not to break with that man, whose hatred and anger might injure the King much more than his good graces could benefit him.' In the original of the letter in which the Cardinal recalls these words, the words just quoted are underlined in the handwriting of M. de Villeroy. The dash of the minister, though faded as it is by the action of three centuries, is more eloquent than the long report of the Cardinal. It proves that both parties, at the Louvre and at the Vatican, knew how to judge each other well; that Henry III. was discredited in Rome, and that on this point neither his Secretary of State nor his ambassador remained under any illusion.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLICY OF SIXTUS WITH REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH KINGDOM

The emotions of politics, and those especially which the growing bad news from France produced upon him, began to tell upon the constitution of the Pope, though at his election[1] it was still very strong. He occasionally had feverish attacks, and, judging of the medical science of that day, we may suppose that each slight indisposition might easily degenerate into a fatal disease.[2] He was a bad invalid, ate 'bravely his wine soup,' laughed at doctors, believed himself to be a better doctor than they, and loved to discuss scientifically the nature of his maladies. His activity had never diminished, but his strength decayed daily. Gritti was struck on finding him seated, too tired to get up or to walk, as was his wont during an audience. The Pope told him his little grievances. The last ceremony had been a long one. His mantle of scarlet cloth, and his hood lined with ermine, had appeared to him rather heavy. His awkward master of the ceremonies,

[1] 'È sanissimo.' Babbi. April 24, 1585.

[2] 'Il Tesoro della vita humana dell' excellente dottore e cavaliere M. Leonardo Fioravanti, Bolognese. Venezia, 1590.' The book makes one shudder.

Allaleone, could not help him. Hence his illness. In fact he grew physically old, and those about him were anxious.

He had spent the Carnival pleasantly in his own way, and, to celebrate the fourth anniversary of his election he had invited the ambassadors of France and of Venice to dine with him. It was on a Sunday, after mass, and after an audience which he gave to a few cardinals, that he received his two guests in the stanza called the 'Bologna.' He sat down at a little separate table which almost touched that of the ambassadors. Notwithstanding the homily which was usually read to him during dinner, he showed them every civility, begging them to eat and to drink, and to cover themselves. During dinner, which was well served and well prepared, Donna Camilla sent a few dainty dishes; and when, according to custom, the tables had been cleared, the Pope again begged of Pisany and Gritti to remain covered, and to sit nearer to him. Fascinating when he wished to be so, which was not often, Sixtus V. was especially fascinating on the present occasion. He gave his guests a medal which had been struck in commemoration of the four years of his pontificate, told them the history of his election, assured them of his good intentions, and even went so far as to excuse his hastiness, which, he said, was never on account of the princes themselves, but only on account of their sins. He did not forget to speak of the banditti, a favourite topic with him, and dwelt at length upon the politics of the day and of past times. As was his wont, he did not spare Gregory XIII., to whom he

attributed almost all the evils to which the world was subject: banditti, Huguenots, and civil war in France. The Gregorian Calendar, which is one of the glories of that pontificate, did not escape his criticism. He found the innovation contrary to the teaching of the Councils, of the Popes, and of St. Ambrose, held that it had produced a confusion in Greece and in Germany to the detriment of the Papacy, and drew his arguments from mathematics, with which he said he was well acquainted. He at one time had thought of resuming the old calendar, but in belying a Pope he was afraid of diminishing the authority of the Popes, 'although,' he added, 'it is of little consequence if they err in matters which are not of faith.' On this subject he was never weary of speaking. His dislike of his predecessor displayed itself even in his dreams. During two consecutive nights he had seen Gregory XIII. surrounded by flames. Happily it was not to hell, but only to purgatory, that Gregory had gone. In his not over flattering anxiety for Pope Buoncompagni, he had mass said in several churches for the repose of his soul. Foreign diplomatists smiled at this weakness, were exasperated by his unmeasured language, and despaired of his apparent but not real versatility. Though sharp and cunning, he was, we again say it, naturally loyal; and notwithstanding changes of temper, which are easily explained if his position be seriously considered, he was much more consistent than he appeared. Of an impressionable and quick temperament, he could not restrain himself, and was imprudent enough to speak as he felt. His feelings changed with circumstances and

his language changed with his impressions. There was sometimes also a calculated motive in that loquacity, which often better than silence deceived the person to whom he spoke, left him in ignorance of what he thought, and tired his memory by endless reasonings. To say all is to say nothing; and long interviews, when it is a question of large interests, almost always prove that a man neither wishes to agree nor can do so. Without suspecting or without caring what use the ambassadors might make of his confidence, or, perhaps, to put them off the right scent, he was wont to tell the one what he had said to the other. People with evil intentions could easily find out contradictions in his language. Olivarès always took note of them, sent them home, and represented the Holy Father as false and versatile in character. This was Olivarès' revenge, for Sixtus had committed the grave error, which great people treating with ambassadors would do well to avoid, of personally wounding him. The latter took pleasure, not in misrepresenting facts which came under his notice, but in putting them in a light which suited his own appreciation of the fact, and his appreciation was that of a man who was unreasonable, and, during the last years of the Pope's life, that of a sworn enemy.

In 1588 events followed each other rapidly. The heads of the League met at Soissons, after having already met a first time at Nancy in January. They entered into an arrangement with the secret municipal Council of the Sixteen of Paris, settled about the disturbances, and entered Paris during the 'day of the

barricades.' The King fled, revolution triumphed, and the Duke of Guise was master of Paris. We may conceive the sensation which this news produced in Rome, and the perplexity into which it threw the Pope. When he was informed that the Duke, who was then supposed to be the soul of the Paris insurrection, had entered the Louvre, all his feelings of a sovereign were wounded. 'Why,' exclaimed the Pope, 'could not the King muster twenty armed men to stop that rebel, shut him up, and dispose of him as he best liked?' Then, looking at the political side of the event, he saw the Guises masters of Paris. They were undoubtedly rebels, but at the same time they were defenders of the faith, and nothing could any longer be hoped either for faith or for France from that weak and unworthy prince. Looked at in this light, the conduct of the Duke of Guise appeared to him less deserving of reproach. He openly avowed it to the Marquis of Pisany. When he heard that the King intended to serve Guise a bad turn, and perhaps make an attempt on his life, the Pope informed the latter of this fact, and recommended his being on his guard. All this he himself told to such ambassadors or cardinals as approached him, but especially to the Cardinal of Sens, who acted often as intermediary between him and Olivarès. The latter collected all these sayings, and drew up from them quite an act of impeachment. 'From what precedes,' says he, in a letter to Philip, 'your Majesty can form an idea, if you have not done so already, of the character of His Holiness; how little his word can be relied upon, and how disposed he is ever to side with the strongest.' Sixtus did wish that the strongest might succeed, but

only those who were strongest in the defence of the Catholic religion. On this point he never varied. Hitherto his intervention had not been an active one. Besides the 'act of privation' which he had published shortly after his election against Henry of Navarre, and which had been prompted chiefly by his priestly feelings, he had confined himself to preaching the necessity of a reconciliation to both Catholic camps, and to recommending a common action against the Huguenots. A short time before the disturbances in Paris he had written in that sense, at the request of M. de Pisany, to the Duke of Guise.

The events of which we have spoken, the day of the barricades, the flight of the King from Paris, and the triumph of the League, had produced a great sensation in Venice. The Republic instructed its ambassador in Rome to use his influence with the Pope on behalf of Henry III. Before doing this, Gritti wished to come to an understanding with the French representative. M. de Pisany complained bitterly of Sixtus V. According to him the latter had always favoured the Guises, and excused their conduct, by at times pleading religion, or, at others, the succession to the throne as a pretext, and each time supposing that they were acting in the interest of the King. Even now that their rebellion was manifest, he still defended them. The ambassador believed that the motives of this conduct were to be found in the great maritime expedition of Philip II. against England, and the Pope's wish that the ports of France should be open to its ships.

Gritti had his audience. 'The senate,' he said, 'Holy Father, has learnt with regret how matters have gone on in France; for that country being the ornament and the right eye of Christianity, as well as the world's pivot, it is impossible for anyone to witness the troubles of that noble kingdom without being exceedingly impressed. It is now a question of religion, and, therefore, the first of all questions. It is a matter likewise of peace in Christendom as well as in Italy. The Senate fears that the King, in order to get out of trouble, may have recourse to means which might be prejudicial to the Catholic faith. His friends already point to such a possibility; and nothing can console the Republic, unless it be its confidence in the prudence and judgment of your Holiness, in your charity, in your zeal for the public good, and in your supreme authority. Venice hopes that you will make use of that authority, in order to avoid the dangers which appear to be imminent, and to avert the evil which threatens the existence of that noble kingdom.'

The Pope sighed deeply, and said, 'Your Government are right. Their complaints are, unhappily, but too well founded; but we like to hear them, for as long as a bad tooth does not hurt us we do not notice it: it is only when it does that we think of a remedy. France is a noble kingdom, and the Church has always derived great advantages from her. We are much attached to France, and learn with pleasure that the Government of Venice shares our affection. Upon the subject in question, we will tell you that, having learnt through the Jesuits, previously to the departure of our

Nuncio for France, that the Queen of England showed a disposition to return to the Catholic faith, and knowing that the King was in relations with her, we begged His Majesty, through our Nuncio, to make known to the Queen that, if she became a convert, we would, notwithstanding the 'depriving act' of Pius V., recognize her as Queen, would give her every concession which she might desire, protect her against her subjects and the King of Denmark, who, as was then said, gave her some anxiety, and, in fact, would grant her everything. The Nuncio did what he was told, but the King has done nothing. He later asked us for help, and we offered him 20,000 foot and 8,000 horsemen, at our expense. Thus we would have punished the heretics and the rebels; but now they are the masters. We proposed to him this because if we only sent him 3,000 or 4,000 men we should have given him the means of settling matters with the heretics, and of doing as he did under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., who sent him a small aid, which he turned to his own account, and not to that of the Papacy. If we help him, it is in view of his exterminating the heretics, and not of making peace with them. Enough, however, of the past. Let us consider now the last events in Paris. The Duke of Guise went there with only eight horsemen, and when he had alighted at the house of the Queen-Mother, the latter asked him how it was that he came without being announced. He answered that, having learnt that the King intended to massacre all the Catholics that were in Paris, he, as a Catholic, had come to die with the others. The Duke did wrong in giving such

an answer, nor do we excuse it. The Queen assured him that such was not the case, and advised him to go and see the King. The Duke consented. The King was informed of his arrival, and replied that he had long been made aware of it, and that, if the Duke took as a pretext his quarrels with Epernon, he would not receive him. Guise replied that his quarrel with Epernon did not require a pretext; that such questions were settled by the sword and by the dagger; that he had come to Paris, and wished to see the King. The latter consented, and the Queen-Mother took the Duke in her coach to the reigning Queen. After making them wait two hours, the King came. They spoke together in amicable terms. The Duke stayed a long time, then took his leave, and went home. The King had then an idea of calling the Swiss Guard to Paris, and of asking from the middle classes a man from each house, in order to strengthen his body-guard. Of the latter, one man came. When the Swiss entered Paris, the Parisians revolted, because they contend that no foreign soldier should be called into Paris, and that if the King is in want of soldiers, he must, in conformity with the privileges of the town, ask them of the town, which will procure them for him. Great disturbances therefore ensued, and many of the Swiss were massacred. During the riot our Nuncio was called to the palace, and requested to interfere, in order to quell the disturbance. Morosini, who behaved very well, accompanied the Duke to the King, and both the King and the Duke walked together through the town, the Duke holding his cap in his hand the whole time, and being always in

attendance upon the King. They returned, each to his home; and at night, without saying a word to a soul, the King left for Chartres. We ask what the King could fear, since the Duke had placed himself in his hands, and had gone to him alone. Why did he call the Swiss? Either he suspected the Duke, or he did not. If he did, why did he not retain him? and if he had found that by retaining him a disturbance ensued (which would have proved the Duke's culpability), why not cut his head off, and throw it into the street? People would have been appeased. If he had no suspicion, why did he call the Swiss? and if he did not do so at the time of the first visit, why did he at the time of the second? It is said that, if the Duke were killed, the 'Lorrain,' who was armed, would have created a disturbance, and revenged himself. Nothing of the kind would have occurred. Not a soul would have moved. Now the King has left Paris. What had he to fear? And if he had anything to fear, how can he seek his salvation in a flight from his capital? If, in the riots which have taken place at Venice, your forefathers had fled, would they have left you that liberty (the independence of the Republic) which you enjoy? Why fly from Paris? From fear of being killed? If he had been killed, he would at least have died as a king. This is the state in which matters stand. Now we are asked to send a legate. This we do not intend to do. We do not wish to compromise our reputation. Cardinal Orsino was sent to France as legate, and was not received. Cardinal Riario, envoy in Spain, could not obtain an audience. We do

not wish to expose ourselves to a similar insult, which we could never endure. On the occasion of the captivity of Archduke Maximilian, the King of Spain, the Emperor, and the King of Poland had asked us to send a legate. It was only after reading ourselves the instructions of the internuncio of Poland, and when we had ascertained that the king of that country really wished it, that we decided on sending one. We will send a chevalier, a bishop, an archbishop, even a cardinal, if it be desired, but no legate. We proposed to the King to let us manage matters, and engaged to re-establish order in his kingdom in a short time; but if he wishes to act for himself, let him do so. Now we are asked to request Guise to leave Paris. We cannot order in Paris except as regards matters of heresy, sin, or the Church, nor have we anything to do in the present question, which is not an ecclesiastical matter. The King said that he intended to join the Huguenots. If he does, he will see what we shall do. Notwithstanding all, we wrote to him to console and encourage him, and we shall think of what there is to be done; for, besides the religious considerations, there are state reasons of the highest importance, which require that we should see to the preservation of that kingdom.'[1]

Gritti discussed some of the arguments which he had just heard. He observed that if the Duke of

[1] The above is a literal translation of the important report of Gritti to the Doge, June 4, 1588. The Pope spoke on the faith of the reports which he got from his Nuncio. It is the only official account of those events which I have seen, and the only one, I believe, that has been published. I found at the Vatican Morosini's ciphered despatch, but not its translation.

Guise had entered Paris with only eight horsemen, this fact proved that he was in secret intelligence with the authorities of the town; and when the Pope spoke of the errors committed by the King, he did not disagree, but contended that it was no longer a question of criticising events, but of remedying an evil. To this Sixtus replied that it was true, and that he had written to the Duke of Guise recommending him strongly to submit to the King.

Henry III., on arriving at Chartres,[1] wrote to Pisany. He exposed his grievances, his good disposition as regards a reconciliation, and his intention of convoking the States-General, but he did not fail to hint at his future possible union with the Huguenots. As a kind of warning he told him of the presence at Boulogne of some English vessels, which were to assist the royal troops against the Duke of Aumale and the Spaniards, (apparently under the Duke of Parma), who were besieging them. It was the beginning of an alliance which he could only explain by the jealous spirit of the Queen of England.

'Such is, sir,' he wrote to his ambassador, 'the state in which matters now stand, and I continue to be of the same mind and will, as when I last wrote to you; that is, to throw water upon the fire, and to put it out by kindness, if God gives me the opportunity; but if not, to neglect no means by which my person and my dignity may be preserved. I am very sorry that the Holy Father has more faith in the inventions of my enemies than in the truth and sincerity of my acts, and that he

[1] Henry III. to Pisany, May 23, 1588.

favours or assists them in any way, as indeed they proclaim him to do. This would oblige me to adopt a course which has never entered my thoughts, and which never will, unless I am compelled by a dire necessity, which I want to escape from and to avoid with all my heart.' The ambassador obeyed the orders contained in that letter, which he said might well be called 'a masterpiece of style.' He told the Pope of the insults which the Guises had offered to Henry III.; and the Holy Father, 'beating his hands and trampling with his feet, asked whether all that he said was true, and added that, if it were so, God would punish the guilty.' But when Pisany insisted on his openly declaring for the King, and writing at once three briefs to this effect, addressed respectively to the King, the French clergy, and a 'very bitter' one to the partisans of the League, Sixtus replied that the Pope's letters, and those from the Holy See, were not generally 'anvilled.' He promised, however, to appoint a Congregation to consider the matter. As Cardinal de Joyeuse had already done once,[1] Pisany endeavoured to find out how the Pope would act in the event of the delicate as well as grave question arising of the King breaking definitively with the League. But Sixtus remained silent.

The Duke of Guise meanwhile strengthened his position in Paris, took the Bastille without striking a blow, and prepared to fight the King's troops. At the same time, and through the initiative of the Queen-Mother, negotiations were entered into with the King. Monsignor Morosini was the most active instrument in

[1] June 15, 1588.

the matter.[1] Obliged by the position which he held to join the King, he called on the Duke of Guise before leaving Paris. He found with him the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, and other notabilities of the League. He urged a reconciliation, and the Duke replied, as usual, that all he wished was that heresy should be exterminated. 'If,' replied the Nuncio, 'you have no other intention, it will be easy for you to agree with the King. Do you authorise me to inform him that you are prepared and determined to obey him as a good and loyal subject, if he furnishes you with the means of waging war against the Huguenots, either in common with His Majesty, or on your own responsibility?' In other words this was offering him the command of the army, at least the Duke understood it so, and, notwithstanding the objections raised by those present, he agreed to the Nuncio's propositions, and the latter at once conveyed them to the King. On arriving at the wandering Court of Henry III., Morosini found that the ground was but too favourable to his plans. He found the Court in the greatest confusion. Fear and presumption alternately mastered the King, but fear always predominated. It was clear that, whatever the requests of the coalesced parties might be, Henry III. would end by acceding to them. The Nuncio therefore, under such circumstances, had no difficulty in obtaining what he wished. He returned to Paris bearing the King's promise 'to intrust to the Duke of Guise all the functions necessary for him to wage war against the Huguenots.' M. de Villeroy fol-

[1] Pisany to Henry III., June 28, 1588.

lowed immediately after, with orders to regulate all matters of detail, and to draw up the act of reconciliation. The triumphant rebels merely asked that the Crown should submit. The Duke of Guise would not hear of the conditions that he had accepted during his first interview with the Nuncio; put forth new conditions which the Nuncio considered to be inadmissible, and, in fact, took the airs of a man who feels himself to be and is in reality master of the situation. On the other hand Morosini, who was mortified, and had compromised himself with the Court, retired from the negotiations, and communicated to his sovereign all the humiliation which he felt. 'They are bad,' he said in speaking of the leaders of the League—'bad and of questionable goodwill.' He sent word to the King again, that he might depend upon the support of the Holy See, if he would only 'honestly' resolve to go to war against the Huguenots. But the unfortunate Henry III., who was more and more alarmed, capitulated, and, having passed through the Caudine forks of the League, signed the edict of the Union, which was published in Rouen on the 19th, and in Paris on the 20th of July. The Duke of Guise was appointed lieutenant-general of the armies of France. Shortly before ratifying so important an act, Henry III. had written to Cardinal de Joyeuse.[1] His letter was but one long complaint. He showed him the state in which France was, the hostilities which the partisans of the League had already entered into with the Royalists, the progress

[1] July 4, 1588. This letter is not published in the Cardinal's Life.

made in Languedoc and in the Dauphiné by the Huguenots, his troubles, his despair. He asked for help of the Pope, but showed how undecided he still was as to what to do—whether he would have peace or war—whether he would make the one with, or wage the other against, the Huguenots or the League. To hasten the sending of money, and also the nomination of a legate, he dispatched to Rome Cardinal de Gondi, who succeeded not only in making the Pope give up his aversion to legates in general, but in obtaining that Morosini, who was particularly liked at the Court of France, where he resided as Nuncio, should, at the request of the King, be promoted to that important position.[1] As a natural consequence, he was also made a cardinal.[2]

A remarkable change had evidently taken place in the mind of Sixtus V. The information which he received from France, the explanations of the Cardinal de Gondi, the facts told him by the King himself in his letters, all concurred in making him look upon the day of the barricades and the events which followed it in a light which was not favourable to the Guises. 'They have brought up their guns to Melun,' wrote Henry, 'to fight me, and in doing so have declared and begun war against the Catholics.' The Pope was indignant, and assured Cardinal de Gondi 'that he would not abandon the King, either by failing in giving him advice, or by procuring him men and money—of which he believes he has more than any living prince—

[1] Henry III. to Sixtus the Fifth, 1588.
[2] Cardinal de Gondi to Henry III., July 13, 1588.

provided His Majesty keeps to his good resolution.' His former project of intervention in France with 20,000 or 25,000 men came back to his mind. The correspondence of Monsignor Morosini was calculated to operate such a change, and to maintain the Pope in his good intentions. Sixtus V. generally chose his representatives abroad among the most distinguished members of the clergy, and among the men who were specially honoured with his confidence. He never had recourse to the vile practice of making secret and inferior agents watch and control the proceedings of those who, besides the honour, had the responsibility of officially representing their sovereign. 'One word from the Nuncio,' said the Cardinal de Joyeuse, 'has more weight with the Pope, and influences him more, than whatever the interested parties may write' (1587).

Morosini, born of an illustrious Venetian family, had a well-deserved reputation as a diplomatist. Wherever he had been as an ambassador—at Turin, in Poland, in Madrid—he had left the pleasantest recollections. As 'bailli' (deputy) at Constantinople, he had intimidated the Sultan by a proud answer at the very time when the latter condemned him to death. He then left the diplomatic career, became Bishop of Brescia, and, at the request of Cardinal de Joyeuse, was appointed Nuncio in Paris after the death of the Archbishop of Nazareth. As a Venetian he had always been favourable to France. In his new capacity he could render the greatest services to Henry III. Pisany and De Joyeuse never ceased praising his 'tact and his ability, which are so necessary in considering the temper of the man

(Sixtus V.) with whom he has to deal.' Morosini managed matters so well that he succeeded, at least for a time, in gaining the confidence of both the Pope and the King. Thus it was that seeing the embarrassment of Henry III., the attitude of the League, the progress of the Huguenots in the south, and learning, by his correspondence from Rome, that the Pope had become a colder partisan of the Guises, Morosini, who likewise took into account the position of the King of Spain, whose Armada was then sailing towards England, proposed, on his own responsibility, to the King and Queen a political combination which, had it been realized or capable of being so, would suddenly and materially have changed the aspect of Europe. He proposed an intimate alliance, or union as it was then called, between Philip and Henry. Sixtus V. caught at the idea with enthusiasm. Was it not in fact his own idea—was it not what he had always advised? If the two kings were sincerely united, and acted honestly together and with him, heresy in France and in the Netherlands would soon be at an end. England and Germany would afterwards follow, and, as he would always have the upper hand, he would be able to watch over the safety of France and the maintenance of the European equilibrium. He therefore enthusiastically adopted the views of his legate, called for Gondi, spoke to him at length upon the subject of the Spanish policy and especially of the relations between the Courts of Madrid and the leaders of the League, and told him of his correspondence with Philip on the subject. 'He had written,' he said, 'formerly to the King of Spain to

beg of him not to encourage the enemies of the Very Christian King. His Majesty in reply had acknowledged 'that he gave help to the League, not by way of arming them against their sovereign, but to protect them against their enemy. As to the enterprise against England, the Court of Rome had signed a convention with the King of Spain, which he intended to read in public consistory as soon as the Armada had made its appearance in British waters. The world would then know whether the Holy Father had or had not taken care of the interests of France. To do otherwise would have been unbecoming the duties of a Pope.'

The day after this interview, Sixtus V. spoke about it to Olivarès.[1] He told him that Morosini had suggested the idea of a union between the two kings; that he had spoken of it to the Spanish ambassador in Paris; that Don Bernardino de Mendoza had received these overtures with favour, and made no doubt of his sovereign's assent. He told him how advantageous such an alliance would be, as regards Flemish affairs and the war with England. Olivarès, who was ignorant of his sovereign's intentions, proposed to send an extraordinary messenger to Madrid, bearing the proposals and letters of His Holiness. What struck the ambassador most was, that Sixtus V. evinced a desire to take upon himself to mediate between the two sovereigns.

Meanwhile Henry III. had, through the medium of Mendoza, taken a direct step in Madrid. But Philip II.

[1] Cardinal de Gondi to Henry III., July 25, 1588.

was obstinately silent. Months elapsed before he could or would make his wishes known. Sixtus V. was exceedingly displeased, and Olivarès thought it prudent to recommend Philip not to delay his answer any longer, and especially to let the Pope be the first to receive it. He had besides some difficulty in penetrating the secret motives of those who recommended and desired such a combination. Nothing was more natural than that the unfortunate Henry should seek for help wherever he could find it, even in the enemy's camp. But what about the Pope and Morosini? There were certain points which he could not clear up. 'The cardinal-legate is a Venetian,' he wrote to Philip. 'How can he propose an alliance between France and Spain, which must be odious to the Republic and to the whole of Italy? The Grand-Duke of Tuscany will be seriously injured.' The ambassador was perhaps right in attributing the motives to the personal ambition of Morosini. Would not a cardinal who had worked the miracle of uniting those two kingdoms, and who therefore must seem to be neutral and yet in good understanding with both crowns, possess great chances at the next Conclave? As to the Pope, who offered to become the mediator, he must evidently have hoped to have the whip-hand of both parties, if only by letting them suppose that such an alliance might be concluded. To raise these expectations in Paris and in Madrid might probably prove more important for him than their realisation, or than the achievement of a union so difficult to bring about and still more difficult to maintain. Such were the suppositions of the Spanish ambas-

sador. In our eyes the perfect sincerity of Sixtus V. can no more be doubted than his wish to become the supreme arbiter between the two Powers. He had no illusions as to the difficulties and impossibility of a long and lasting alliance between the two States whose rivalry constituted as it were an element of their political existence. A temporary reconciliation, however —a common action against the common enemy, the Huguenots—did not seem to him to be chimerical. But, even in this respect, his hopes were soon dispelled.

The news from France was bad. He learnt with feelings of anger, as well as of contempt for Henry III., that Lesdiguières had taken absolute possession of the Dauphiné. 'We are asked,' he said to Pisany, 'to give 3,000 scudi a month, merely to spare Lesdiguières! Since your king loses his provinces one by one, each man taking what he likes, we shall do the same. We will send 12,000 men into Dauphiné, and shall take possession of that province, without prejudice to the King, since it no longer belongs to him.'[1]

When the convocation of the States at Blois was known, Cardinal de Joyeuse[2] observed to the Pope that the States had always proved the best remedy against the public evil, and that kings were generally those who would not hear of convoking them; but that on this occasion it was the King who had proposed that they should meet, and convoked them of his own accord: that all well-thinking persons, therefore, hoped greatly

[1] Pisany to Henry III., August 8, 1588.
[2] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., September 1588.

that the results would turn out satisfactorily for the welfare of the kingdom and of His Majesty's authority. Sixtus disapproved of the measure, saying that 'the Princes will be there also, and will not do all the good that can be wished.'

Events soon proved him to be in the right.

The States met at Blois in the middle of September. The spirit of the League, and, as we now call them, radical opinions, prevailed among the members. The royal prestige was daily getting lowered. Henry III. encountered a series of defeats one after the other, and one step more would make the Duke of Guise King of France.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MURDER OF THE DUKE AND THE CARDINAL OF GUISE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The first news of the murder of the Duke and of the Cardinal of Guise, which was committed at the château of Blois on the 23rd and 24th of December 1588, reached Rome by a messenger of the Savoy embassy. It was confirmed on the following day (January 5, 1589) by the despatches of the Legate, and the King's letters to M. de Pisany.[1] The author of the crime felt that he must excuse himself. 'The late Duke of Guise,' wrote the King, 'was thinking of nothing short of depriving me of my life and of my crown. The peace of my subjects was also at stake. . . . You will inform His Holiness of this, and will tell him that his holy and personal admonitions, as well as the example which justice required, have taken away any scruples I might have had. I feel confident that the Pope will praise what I have done, which was not only lawful but pious, since it had for its object to insure the peace of the public by the death of a private individual.' To captivate the Pope, he conceived the incredible notion of

[1] Henry III. to Pisany; Blois, December 24, 1588. The original, which formed a part of the collection of Lucas of Montigny, has been published in 'Revue rétrospective.'

adding, 'I have been thinking of recognising the good offices of Cardinal Montalto, by sending him a portion of the things which belonged to the Cardinal of Guise, and you may speak to him on the subject if you think fit. *I forgot*,' he added, as a *postscriptum* to the letter, which bore the date of the second murder, that of the Cardinal of Guise—'I forgot to tell you that I have also got rid of the Cardinal of Guise, who had the impudence to say that he would not die before he had held my head to shave it and make me a monk. . . . You may also tell His Holiness that it suited me to act in this wise, unless I wished to allow so dangerous an element of discord to go about free among my subjects.'

The Legate's reports gave the details of this catastrophe. Cardinal Morosini resided at Blois. When he heard of the murder of the Duke, he vainly sought to enter the palace. He could only see the King on the morrow after the death of the Cardinal of Guise, at the time named by Henry III., who was still quite intoxicated by his triumph. 'Monseigneur Legate,' the King had written, 'I am now king. I have resolved no longer to tolerate injustice or ill-treatment. I shall maintain this good resolution to the prejudice of whosoever may oppose it, following in this the example of our Holy Father, of whose words I have kept a good recollection, when he continually declared to me that I must be obeyed, and punish those who offend me. Since I have attained my end, I shall receive you to-morrow, if you please. Good-bye.'[1] The Legate's reports

[1] Correspondence of Morosini with Montalto.

bear the mark of great embarrassment. He deplores the act, and blames it, but cautiously. He finds himself in a difficult position. If he says all he knows and thinks, he runs the risk of putting the Pope in too violent a passion, and of making him commit an act which would be too compromising: if, as Legate, he has recourse to a scandal, such as his departure from Court or the excommunication of the murderer would produce, he would become responsible for the policy of the Holy See. If he remained—if he confined himself to merely blaming the King to the King, he runs the risk of incurring his master's displeasure; but then at least his master, the Head of the Church, will be spared, if he himself is compromised. This last plan, therefore, he adopted. Though it was the wisest, the most generous, and the most meritorious, it was at the same time the most ungrateful, and the least likely to be appreciated. Such it was then; such will it ever be. When passion rules the counsels of kings, the diplomatic agent, who is sufficiently enlightened and courageous not to make himself the instrument of these passions, is sure to displease; but he is also sure to serve the interests of his country. Morosini therefore merely confined himself to giving an account of his interview with the King, of the exhortations he made while walking with him in the park of the palace, and to describing the generally bad impression which the murder had left on the public. The enemies of the Guises alone, he saw, rejoiced over their death. Men of sense expressed pity, but not appro-

bation. Among these was the Queen-Mother, who was ill, and almost dying. With her great experience and her sound judgment—which was more just than that of her son, of a less prejudiced and less passionate nature—she did not deceive herself as to the gravity of the crime, and foresaw its disastrous consequences.

M. de Pisany was received on the 6th: he communicated the facts, and found the Pope less angry than he had expected. The Holy Father spoke to him with calmness, and did not fail, on this occasion, to allude unkindly to the policy of his predecessor. He accused the Cardinals of Sens and of Como of being, after Gregory XIII., the principal authors of all these evils.[1]

After the French ambassador, the Venetian envoy was announced.[2] 'What do you say?' exclaimed the Pope, when he saw Gritti. 'We cannot praise, but must condemn the Duke of Guise's first act, which was to arm and ally himself to other princes against his King. It was not his business to take up arms against his sovereign; and, though he chose to put forward religion as his pretext, he had no right to go against his King, nor to dictate the law to him. It was a breach of duty, and a sin; for no vassal can command or force his master. He may warn, exhort, persuade him, but to revolt is not to be excused; it is a sin. If for this reason therefore the King had proceeded against him, and punished him, nothing could have been said; for he was the King's subject, and the decision could not but have been approved. The Duke's second act was

[1] Cardinal de Joyeuse to Henry III., January 9, 1589.
[2] G. Gritti to the Doge, January 7, 1588.

his arrival in Paris, a few months ago, followed by only seven horsemen. He went to the Queen-Mother, and then to the King. If the latter had wished to proceed against him, he could have done it then; he could have had him arrested and punished, and if he had put him to death, and thrown his body out of the window, no one would have moved a step, and there would have been an end of the matter. The King was wrong not to do so then. He would have been applauded by everyone; but, as you know, he fled and went to Chartres. Now the third act has taken place. The King is a sovereign, and the Duke a subject; and the King can chastise that subject. He is not obliged to give an account of his conduct to anyone. But when he had been reconciled with him, when he had admitted him as a member of his Council and to his intimacy, to call the Duke to his room, and to have the man massacred who went to him in all confidence—that is an act which we cannot approve, for it is not an act of justice, but a homicide. He should have had him arrested, have had him impeached, and then act as he thought fit; for he is a king, and all would have been right, because the laws and ordinary forms of justice would have been respected. Had an insurrection taken place, he could have had him killed without trial (*tumultuariamente*); but to kill him as he did was a homicide and a sin, not justice, and we are grieved that the King should have done so. As regards the Cardinal, if the King had any complaints against him, why did he not address himself to us? We would have summoned the Cardinal to Rome, and all would have been settled. If he had

not come, we would have punished his disobedience by depriving him of his cardinalship, and then the King could have dealt with him as he pleased. We said so to the ambassador who was here before you, and we asked him what prince ever dared kill a cardinal? In fine, the King has done wrong in thus treating people with whom he had become reconciled.' The Pope seemed grieved and troubled: he complained of the heavy responsibility of his duties, while he acknowledged that everyone 'prefers his troubles to those of others, and that St. Augustine had said with justice that, if the sufferings of humanity were shut up in a room, and if men were allowed to choose which of them they would prefer, each man would rather have his own than those of his neighbour. And yet we are the Pope! When we were only cardinal, we lived in much greater peace of mind, and had not to ponder the question as to whether we should excommunicate a king, or summon him to Rome, or take some such step.'

Towards the evening, and although it was not his day for an audience, Olivarès went to the Vatican. He returned the next day, and to the great displeasure of Cardinal de Joyeuse remained there 'a whole hour.'

The Sacred College, on hearing of the murder of one of its members, had expressed its indignation. 'The Spanish faction,' wrote Joyeuse to Henry III., 'exaggerates the event; so much so that, had your Majesty put to death the Spanish ambassador who is at your Court, these Spaniards could not have shown greater regret.' He supposed, with truth, that during his two

audiences, Olivarès 'had considerably embittered the judgment of His Holiness.'[1] The latter found the Pope somewhat perplexed.[2] 'All depends,' he wrote to Philip, 'upon the turn which affairs will take in France, and upon the attitude which your Majesty will assume. I shall try and give courage to His Holiness, and excite him as much as I can, without, however, pledging your Majesty too much, unless the requirements of the moment compel me to do so.' The King's instructions to him were not long coming. Philip was resolved to go to war. The Duke of Guise had been his confidant, his agent, and the principal instrument of his will. He must now tear the veil which had been so transparent to everyone, and appear on the scene. Olivarès was ordered to excite the anger of the Holy Father; the Duke of Parma was instructed to revive the courage of Mayenne, to hold himself in readiness, and, as soon as war was declared, to take possession of Cambrai; finally Don Bernardino de Mendoza was told to prepare in Paris the means of resistance.'[3]

After the ambassador came Cardinal de Joyeuse.[4] He had hardly begun when the Pope cut him short. An animated discussion took place between them, if it can be called a discussion, when two people, without listening to one another, strive as to who shall speak the loudest. 'Having by his anger raised my own ire,' he wrote to the King, 'he so acted that I listened to him no more, and we both screamed at each other.' The

[1] Olivarès to Philip, January 9, 1589. [2] 'Un poco de perplexidad.'
[3] H. Lippomano to the Doge, January 18, 1588.
[4] Joyeuse to Henry III., January 9, 1589.

Pope repeated what he had said to Gritti, and the Cardinal reminded the Pope of his own words, on the occasion of the 'day of the barricades,' when he regretted that the King had not thrown Guise out of the window. Sixtus V. was obliged to allow this, 'but could not parry or do else than get angry.'

The protector of France held that, as regards the Duke's death, his sovereign was responsible only to God, and that it was only out of honesty and from his respect for the Head of the Church, that His Majesty had mentioned the fact to him. As to the Cardinal, the King not only informed the Pope of what had taken place, but asked for his forgiveness. Sixtus replied that His Majesty must write himself to request absolution, and that meanwhile he would speak of it to the cardinals.

It was the resolution taken by the Holy Father of communicating these events to the Consistory that chiefly alarmed the representatives of Henry III. Neither Pisany nor Joyeuse, who both had a second audience on the 8th, could dissuade him.

The Consistory took place on the following day. According to custom, the cardinals had private interviews each with the Pope before he opened the meeting. Their resentment, and the observations which they made to him,[1] were such as to increase the indignation he felt, and the grief and fears which he experienced.

[1] See Olivarès' report to Philip, quoted previously :—'Todos concuerdan en que el Papa hablò con grande afecto y accediò bien á lo que en la silla le dijeron los Cardinales.'

When, according to usage, on the seventh occasion of his appointing to cardinalships, he had heard the new cardinals, a great silence pervaded the sala. With visible emotion on his countenance, the Pope was long in breaking it. At last he exclaimed: 'It is with the deepest sorrow that we announce to you the perpetration of an unheard-of crime: the murder—the murder—the murder of a cardinal, killed without trial, without being judged, and contrary to the law, by secular force, without our authorization or that of the Holy See.' He continued in this tone, confining himself, however, to speaking of the Cardinal, and making no reference to the Duke of Guise. His allocution was a long and eloquent pleading against Henry III., whom he accused of being unjust, cruel, ungrateful, and disrespectful to the Holy See. He called upon him the punishment of Heaven, and claimed for himself the right and the duty of chastising him. The King's ambassadors,' he said, 'have thrown themselves at our feet. They have requested absolution for their master, but the latter, in writing to us, does not even allude to it. Parricidal and sacrilegious, he has no word of repentance to express for his crime.' He gave vent to all his indignation when he told how the King, in his letter, insinuated, that in committing this crime, he had followed his example.[1] He quoted modern and ancient history, announced the appointment of a Congregation *ad hoc*, and made a violent sally against some cardinals, who, forgetting their own

[1] This passage is omitted in Tempesti's official text.

dignity, and to his great surprise, had ventured in his presence to excuse the crime, without reflecting that it concerned the honour and the safety of the whole Sacred College. 'We do not ask again to become cardinal ourselves. We are not likely to ask a prince or king to intervene in our favour so that we may obtain a purple gown. It is not of us that we are speaking, but of you—of you who seem to wish to be deprived of the liberty, honours, pensions, and privileges which you enjoy, and to become the objects of contempt to princes and kings! Be sure that if we allowed the assassination of a cardinal to go unpunished, you might all of you run the risk of sharing his fate.'

Cardinal de Joyeuse, to whom these words were specially addressed, got up to answer, but the Pope, in a weakened tone of voice, ordered him to be silent and to sit down; and as the intrepid protector of the interests of France stood up notwithstanding, the Pope ordered him out of the room.[1] Cardinal Santa Severina, who was appointed to preside over the Congregation, interposed in favour of Joyeuse when the Consistory was over, pleaded his youth and his ignorance of the rules as an excuse for his conduct, and did this so well that, at the next Consistory, Joyeuse, who had first wanted to leave Rome, threw himself at the Pope's feet, and consented to ask his pardon for the affront which His Holiness had inflicted upon him.

The first result and natural consequence of the murder of the Guises was a momentary amelioration in

[1] In his letter to Henry III. the Cardinal speaks of his efforts to speak, but hides the fact of his being expelled.

the relations between Sixtus and Spain. His dream of an alliance between Philip and Henry III. was over. Olivarès noted with pleasure that the Congregation appointed to inquire into the crime was well composed. Santi Quattro, Facchinetti, Lancelloto, Pinelli, Mattei, were all men after his own heart, except perhaps the last, who might be rather inclined to France;[1] but the nature of the question, he thought, must prevent any faltering. In these days of great excitement, he often saw the Holy Father, and found him very much irritated against the Legate. The note especially which Henry III. had written to him made him fear some treasonable act. He suspected Morosini of having advised the murder, and intended to make him expiate his fault dearly. He no longer called him otherwise than the secretary of the King of France, but hesitated as to replacing him by another. His anger and his anxiety showed themselves in imprudent speeches, which were carefully noted and sent to Madrid by his sworn enemy the Spanish ambassador. Cardinal de Sens, who was known to be a liar, related what the Pope had said, or what he pretended that the Pope had told him. He said that he had been once the witness of a farewell audience granted by the Pope to an agent of the Duke of Guise, the Abbé d'Orbais, who was leaving for France, and that the Pope had thus expressed himself: 'Tell "His Majesty" the Duke of Guise to hold himself in readiness. We shall presently break with the King.' Olivarès

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., January 11, 1589.

believed and repeated all that the cardinal had told him, giving however his authority; for no man of so passionate a nature could be more prudent or more conscientious. He made this a pretext to call his master's attention to the question of the succession, which was then being much discussed in Rome, where, since the events at Blois, Henry III. was looked upon as an obstacle to the pacification of France. It was even questioned whether it would not be wise to 'deprive' him, and to elect already a successor to him.

Olivarès was convinced that in this matter Sixtus would follow out the wishes of Philip, if only because it was impossible for him to do otherwise. 'The news from Paris,' he wrote, 'is good. Everyone is alive. We must not let the French have time to calm down.' He even took upon himself—so imminent did the crisis appear to him—to recommend the Governor of Milan, the Duke of Terranuova, to make military preparations and to hold himself ready to co-operate with the Duke of Mayenne. The latter had lost no time in making Philip aware of his intention to revenge his two brothers. He was master, he said, of Le Hâvre, Burgundy, and Champagne, and quite resolved to march upon Paris. Through the medium of the Spanish ambassador at Turin, Don José de Acuña, who addressed himself with this object to the Duke of Terranuova, he asked and obtained a subsidy of 50,000 ducats.[1]

For Sixtus V. these were evil days. Both parties

[1] Acuña to Philip II. Turin, January 12, 1589.

were very violent around him. The Spanish faction and the agents of the League insisted on his declaring openly in favour of the Union. The ambassadors of Henry III., M de Pisany, and Jerome de Gondy who had lately arrived in Rome as a special envoy to treat of the affairs at Saluzzo, and all the French partisans, who were warmly but prudently supported by Gritti, tried to calm him, spoke of the dangers of a Spanish intervention, and implored of him not to enter into a common line of action with Philip. To gain time, and to act according to events, Sixtus alleged that he must, before he could do anything, learn what the Congregation had decided. In this crisis, and under the impression of the news from France, which was daily more favourable to the League, while Mayenne was marching on Paris, while the Sorbonne declared the people free from their allegiance to the King, while Henry III. sought for an alliance, or, as he timidly called it, a truce with the King of Navarre; and while the ambassadors of Spain, France, and Venice were besieging the Vatican, the anti-Spanish feeling showed itself everywhere, notwithstanding the immense influence which Philip exercised in Rome. 'It is the maxim of this Court,' Olivarès wrote to the King, 'that the King of France must be supported; for, although he inspires distrust, yet they think that, if France falls, Italy must become the slave of your Majesty.'

The Pope had sent word to M. de Pisany that he must not attend chapel. He refused to see him in private audience, and no longer received him except at his particular request and as an exception, wishing

thereby to show the horror which he felt at the murders committed at Blois.

On the other hand, Olivarès saw him almost every day. His interviews were of the highest importance. Since the letter by which Philip had made known his intention of interfering in France by force of arms, in the event of Rome accepting the conversion of 'the Béarnais,' Olivarès had received no further instructions respecting the affairs of France. He had nevertheless taken upon himself, as we have seen, to recommend the Governor of Milan to support the Duke of Mayenne. Now he gave the Holy Father the last news from Paris. That city asked that Duke Alexander of Parma should make a military demonstration in its favour on the frontiers of Flanders. What did His Holiness think of it? Sixtus replied that the idea did not seem to him to be a bad one. The ambassador found him lukewarm and reserved. Far from appearing to resent strongly the conduct of Henry III., the Pope, as he had heard, had actually tried to palliate his speech in the Consistory to M. de Pisany. To give to this manifestation, however, the widest publicity, Olivarès took care to spread a number of copies about the country in France and in Italy. He consoled himself besides in thinking that if matters went ill in France, 'Sixtus would become a liar, and deny that he had ever spared that prince.' One word of the Pope had, however, alarmed him. The Legate had written to say that Henry of Navarre had offered to join the King of France. The Holy Father did not believe the statement, but the announcement took away

sleep from Olivarès. He went back to the palace, and the Pontiff assured him that if the union between the two Henrys did take place, it would not be through his intervention.

The end of January 1589 had come,[1] and already such a contingency had suggested itself as possible to all minds. Everyone felt that, sooner or later, Henry III. would appeal to the Huguenots. Many of those about the Vatican encouraged the idea, which, according to them, was the only solution in conformity with the interests of Italy. When Quigi Dovara, who had been sent to Rome by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand to invite people to the Duke's wedding, took leave of Olivarès, he told the latter ingenuously that he had maintained before the Pope, who did not seem to be of a contrary opinion, how advantageous it would be to pacify France by such means. Of course Henry of Navarre must first abjure, but a National Council might be called for this purpose, and then the Pope would make no difficulty in granting absolution.

The anger and anguish of the ambassador may be conceived. He lost no time in going to Sixtus. 'The King of France,' said he, 'is treating with Henry of Bearn: he intends to propose to the States of Blois that that heretic should succeed him, and "the Béarnais" will have no scruple in solemnly recanting, or falsely converting himself to Catholicism, because he will be approved of beforehand by the Queen of England and by her Protestant ministers.' He recapitulated his master's intentions, and the Pope replied evasively, praising in

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., January 15, 21, and 23, 1589.

a somewhat lukewarm manner the zeal of the King for the holy religion, but considering an alliance between the Kings of France and Navarre as probable. He, however, promised not to come to any decision without previously informing the Court of Madrid. In the eyes of the ambassador this pledge was not enough, but the Pope would not do more. Olivarès therefore left with distrust and apprehensions of all kinds.

His fears, however, were not justified. Sixtus V. had no settled plan. He held exactly the same language to the envoys of Venice and of France. To Gritti he spoke fully, blaming the Republic for having secretly favoured the King of France. He told him that a union between the King and the heretics was no longer doubtful, and that, on the whole, Henry of Navarre was better than Henry III., who would probably meet with the fate of the Guises, which he had himself prepared. Then followed unjust accusations against the Legate, on whom he heaped unmerited reproaches. He even went so far as to tax him with having connived at the murders at Blois. The assertion of Henry III. that he had followed his example, and his gross attempt to bribe him by offering a portion of the deceased Cardinal's spoils to the Pope's grand-nephew, had wounded him to the quick. 'If,' said he, 'we are, as the King says, the example of justice, we will show him how we administer justice in his case. We are not likely to dispense with its forms and procedure. To kill a man without judging him is not to administer justice, but merely to commit an act of revenge. If the King has acted out of revenge, he will be punished

whenever God wills it. If he has acted according to justice, where are the proofs of the trial, and where is the defence made by the accused? He actually considers himself also called upon to judge an ecclesiastic. It would be heresy. We have done for him all that he asked. On our accession, Monseigneur de Nevers asked us to give our adherence to the League. May God forgive those who are the authors of it—Pope Gregory, Como and Sens. The King knows what we replied. We said that subjects must not rise against their sovereigns—that if the King neglects his duty to fight the heretics, they must not dictate the law to him; that we, not they, should exhort him to do his duty. He asked us permission to alienate the temporal goods of the clergy—we granted it; he asked us to make a cardinal—we did it; to give him a nuncio—we sent him one; a cardinal legate, and, against all the rules of the Church, we again in this respect satisfied his wishes. He asked dispensation for a knight of Malta, and, what had never been done before, we gave the dispensation to a brother of Joyeuse. We have done his will in all things. But see the state into which his affairs are drifting. You know the history of Pharaoh: he had exhausted God's patience. When he saw the people of Israel walk through the waves, and himself and his followers swallowed up by the sea, he exclaimed, "*Digitus Dei est hic!*" and what occurs is, in fact, the manifestation of the finger of God.'

As he insisted on the King sending him a person to ask for absolution, Henry confided this mission to

Claude d'Angennes, Bishop of Le Mans.[1] This prelate, on passing through Florence, found that the Grand-Duke Ferdinand was very well disposed towards Henry, and openly approved of the murder of the Guises. When he arrived in Rome, towards the end of February, he alighted at the house of Cardinal de Joyeuse, thinking it was not proper that he should lodge in the house of an ambassador, 'who was a soldier and a married man.' Though suffering from the gout, Gritti was one of the first to visit him. He praised uncommonly the tact, dignity, and agreeable manners of the French prelate. The day after his arrival the Bishop had, with M. de Pisany, an audience of the Pope, and explained at length how the King had been situated, endeavouring to represent the catastrophe at Blois as an act of self-defence which absolute necessity had alone brought about. He contended, as M. de Pisany had done before him, that the King, as sovereign, had no account to give of the punishments which he inflicted upon his rebellious subjects; that it was only out of respect for the Holy Father that he mentioned at all the death of the Duke of Guise; that, as regards the Cardinal, his brother, 'the King's scruples had been awakened by his being told that he was a member of the Sacred College—a fact which His Majesty had not previously thought of, looking as he had only to his manner and acts.' He ended by asking the Pope to give the King 'his holy blessing and prudent and wise advice.'

[1] Bishop of Mans to Henry III., May 15, 1589. Olivarès to Philip II. May 26, 1589. Gritti to the Doge, March 4, 11, and 18, 1589. Alberto Badoer to the Doge, April 29 and May 6, 1589.

Sixtus at first replied calmly, but getting more excited as he spoke, and with that loquacity which was his characteristic, although he said 'that he did not like long discourses.' The information which the Bishop gave respecting French affairs was not altogether the same, indeed was in many respects different to that which he himself received. 'If the King had been in trouble, he was the cause of his own troubles. Respecting the death of the Duke of Guise, he spoke not, since the Duke was a subject of His Majesty, and knew that the King was a sovereign. As regards, however, the homicide committed by the King in killing a man without trial, the King was a subject of the Church and therefore of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter, since the King acknowledged that he belonged to the fold of Christ. But he allowed this to pass lightly, having only to complain bitterly that the King should have touched a cardinal, a member of the Holy See, a privileged being, who was a subject not of the King but of the Pope.' Here he set forward a series of quotations from history, proving how no other sovereign had committed such a crime under similar circumstances. If, by his conduct, the Cardinal had given cause for suspicion, he should have been referred to the Legate, who was a great friend of the King (this was said sarcastically), and sent to Rome. The Pope, 'who was known to be a zealous prince and a lover of justice,' would have seen that the trial of the Cardinal was regularly conducted, and would in any case have prevented any prejudice resulting from it to the King.

He ended by requesting the Bishop to put the object of his mission in writing.

The Bishop of Le Mans said that he was not authorised to give a written document, but granted that cardinals and bishops were subjects of the Church as regards their spiritual duties, adding that as to temporal matters they were responsible to the King, and were not at liberty to disturb the public peace.

The Holy Father did not contend that it was not forbidden to churchmen to be the instruments of sedition; but when the Bishop insisted on the right of his sovereign to punish a cardinal, he stopped him angrily. 'Take care,' said he; 'beware of what you say! *e vedete di non cascar in qualche disordine.*' He was surprised that the King should presume to ask for his blessing when he still held a cardinal and a bishop in prison. In fine, that first and long audience ended somewhat ill.

In a second audience, which took place also in presence of M. de Pisany, the Bishop again touched upon political matters, but the Pope interrupted him at once. 'We have already heard all that,' he said. 'We cannot stop there. That is not the question. The question is about the death of a cardinal. Where is the written document that we told you to give us? As for the King's letters, we do not understand them, nor do we make out what he asks for: absolution, blessing—what does he want? Whoever requires absolution of his sins must confess his sins, acknowledge them, and humbly ask pardon—have a salutary horror of them, and not continue in sin, as the King does, who keeps an

archbishop prisoner.' He enumerated all his grievances against Henry, the blessings which he had poured upon him, and insisted that Cardinal de Bourbon should be sent to Rome, if the King feared his presence in France. When the Bishop observed that such a journey across France, in the present state of the country, was not possible, the Holy Father proposed that he should be escorted by infantry from the Duke of Parma's army. At this Pisany lost patience. 'The King,' said he drily, 'does not wish the Duke of Parma to meddle with his affairs;' whereupon the Pope smiled.

In his third audience the Bishop abstained from all political considerations, but had the courage again to speak upon the question of right. 'The King,' said he, 'acted rightly in self-defence, and there are certain privileged cases in France in which royal judges have a jurisdiction over the bench.'

The Pope, quite beside himself, stopped him short. 'We wonder,' said he, 'at hearing you talk such nonsense. In France the Scriptures are badly interpreted. The New Testament of Luther, of Calvin, of other such heretics, as well as of the Queen of England (of whom, said the Bishop in his report, he spoke willingly, because she was a woman of courage, and could make herself be obeyed), the New Testament of the Duke of Saxony and others, is the same which we have, only they do not properly interpret it, and are therefore heretics.' He put two conditions; the one that the King should ask simply for absolution, and the other that he should liberate, or place in the hands of the Legate, both the cardinal and the archbishop who were imprisoned. If

not, His Majesty would be excommunicated, his subjects no longer bound to their oath of allegiance to him, and his envoy, the Bishop of Le Mans, sent to prison.

No sooner had he expressed these threats than Pisany replied, with a boldness and a dignity of manner which were much appreciated in the diplomatic circle, 'that the King had, by sending the Bishop of Le Mans, given proof of respect and obedience to the Holy Father; that ministers were at liberty to give their master's reasons in full, without fear of intimidation, or being threatened with imprisonment. As to the respect due to His Holiness, he and the Bishop would always bow their heads before him; but in the service of His Majesty they would do their duty as loyal and faithful subjects, and would not be afraid of being put in prison, but would fulfil their mission as they ought, even at the peril of their lives.'[1] The Pope did not answer, but changed the subject.

When Henry III. heard what little success his representatives met with, he decided upon asking for absolution. The Bishop, aided by M. de Pisany, fulfilled this painful duty in his fourth and last audience. He now was acquainted with the 'humour of that Court and the different aims of each,' the never-ceasing intrigues of the Spanish ambassador, and the little esteem in which the King of France was held, who had not even been able to turn his crime to profit. When he presented himself before Sixtus V., he began by retracting the question of right which he had upheld in

[1] 'And with the risk that their heads should be carried to the end of the bridge.'

his preceding audience, and, according to his fresh instructions, knelt down, as well as Pisany, and then said, 'Holy Father, I ask your absolution for the Very Christian King.' The Holy Father told them to get up and to resume their seats. He expressed his pleasure, and added—'sighing loudly, and exclaiming that the affairs of the kingdom of France gave him much concern and no rest—that it should be governed with prudence and judgment, and that a cardinal could be guarded against in a less scandalous manner, and one which would have been equally effective.' He quoted instances, saying 'that the Emperor Charles V., though inwardly delighted that Rome was sacked, and the Pope Clement made a prisoner, ordered the Court nevertheless to wear mourning, and processions to take place for the delivery of the Pope; that King Philip, when he was victorious over Paul IV., who had waged war against him, returned all the towns he had taken, and commissioned the Duke of Alba to go to Rome and sue the Pope for absolution.' The end of this long historical statement was that he would grant absolution only when the cardinal and archbishop had been placed in the hands of the Legate. As a last concession, he said he would be satisfied with a written document, declaring that these two personages were detained by the King's people in the name of the Legate. Such was the end of the mission.

A great event and a small incident contributed to its failure. Despatches from Cardinal Morosini announced the alliance of the King of France with Henry of Navarre, while at the same time the Legate recorded

his departure from the Court of Henry III. This was the event; but the incident was the arrest at Roanne of the Bishop of Mans' majordomo. The letters found upon his person were sent to Rome. The bishop and the ambassador both wrote to the King that His Holiness only wished to humble him; that a little firmness would soon make him change; that besides there was little to hope from him.[1] The Pope showed himself exceedingly displeased, and to his anger the failure of the Bishop's mission was in part atttributed. The fact is more naturally explained by the turn which events had taken in France since the assassination of the Guises. Notwithstanding his ill-treatment of Henry's envoy, he was not desirous of breaking altogether with him, for fear of throwing him entirely into the hands of the Huguenots. The cardinals of the Congregation appointed for the examination of French affairs, were divided as to the opportuneness of recalling the Legate, as the latter seemed ardently to desire. But the Pope, rightly supposing that such a measure would be interpreted as a declaration of the Holy See in favour of the League, ordered the Legate to remain at his post.

That eminent statesman, though unjustly reproached by Sixtus V., had made every effort to prevent an alliance between France and Navarre. He had seized the opportunity of the death of Catherine de' Medici, which he said was favourable to moving her son's heart, to represent to him how great was his sin.

[1] 'Sua Santità gli anderebbe con la baretta in mano.' The Pope gave these details himself to Badoer.—Badoer, June 17, 1589.

'Strive, sire,' he said, 'to get reconciled with God, who is very wroth with you for past offences.' He implored of him not to seek an alliance with a heretic and a man who was condemned by the Church. Henry III., though already in communication with Navarre, swore and gave his word that he would never ally himself to that prince.[1] The Legate was tired of remonstrating in vain, when he received a messenger who was bearer of despatches censuring his conduct. Although Cardinal Montalto had timidly endeavoured to modify the expression of his uncle's displeasure, the despatches left no doubt as to the disgrace into which the Legate had fallen. Morosini replied with dignity: he had executed the orders of His Holiness, and had acted according to the spirit of his instructions; his conscience therefore did not reproach him.[2]

On the other hand the King continued to put him off with honeyed words, which were only so many lies, and at the same time avoided seeing him. When the Legate learnt that Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons, instead of being set at liberty, were to be transferred to the Castle of Amboise, he took advantage of his privileges as an ambassador, and went to the King without asking for an audience. He was told that His Majesty was dressing, but the cardinal would not be stopped. He went into the King's dressing-room, and reproached him warmly. Henry

[1] Morosini to Montalto. Blois, January 15, 1589; deciphered in Rome, Feb. 4.

[2] Morosini to Montalto, January 26, 1589; deciphered in Rome, Feb. 9.

replied that this was one of those cases in which a father does not forgive his son, and that His Holiness would himself advise him during his lifetime to prevent by every means in his power that any other than himself should be King of France.[1]

The relations between that prince and the representative of the Holy See became more and more difficult. When the King proposed to the Legate that he should precede him to Moulins, the latter accepted the suggestion with joy, and the more willingly, he said, as it was on the road to Italy. He, however, was not blind to the real cause, which was Henry's desire to get rid of a disagreeable witness while messengers were passing to and fro from Blois and the camp of the King of Navarre.[2]

On April 3 a truce was signed between the latter and Henry III. The Legate considered that the moment had come when he must take his departure: he went to Moulins. The picture he drew of the state of the country through which he passed was appalling, and exceeded in horror and misery all that now-a-days we have seen of the kind under similar circumstances. Morosini was much struck by it. He believed that if the foreign auxiliaries called to the help of both parties, the League and Henry III., were allowed to come, France must be ruined for ever. The excitement of the partisans of the League was such, and their hatred of the King so great, that there was no chance of a reconciliation. In Lyons a Dominican friar had publicly

[1] Morosini to Cardinal Montalto. Blois, January 31, 1589; deciphered in Rome, Feb. 14.

[2] Morosini to Cardinal Montalto. Blois, Feb. 23, 1589; deciphered March 9.

declared in church that the King was a heretic. The Legate renewed his prayer to be recalled. When Henry III. announced his presence in Moulins, Monsignor Morosini, who was ill, and without news from Rome (for his messengers were stopped), left the town in a hurry. His personal dignity, as well as his official position, did not allow of his seeing again a prince who had become the ally of an heretic. Although the roads were infested with marauders and bands of robbers, he started on his homeward journey. He at last reached Lyons, after experiencing much danger; and protected by the brother of the Duke of Nemours, the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin, he hoped to await in safety, in that town, the authorisation which he had so often asked to return to Rome. Nothing of the kind came. Terror reigned in the town; the population was fanaticised. Suspected people were arrested, some put to death; he himself was not trusted, because he was supposed to be favourable to the King. He was received, it is true, with all the honours due to his exalted rank; but the municipal authorities did not disguise from him how embarrassed they were by his presence among them. He was obliged to explain his conduct to them since the 'unfortunate 23rd of December.' He pacified them with difficulty, but notwithstanding the kind protection of the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin, his position was untenable.[1] Besides, he no longer doubted that the King of Navarre must finally triumph. What took place before his eyes, in the centre of the League, only confirmed him in this opinion. He

[1] Morosini to Montalto. Lyons, July 26, 1589; deciphered August 5.

saw, however, in his victory the victory also of heresy; and when the rumour of the death of the leader of the Huguenots, which for several days had been spread all over Lyons, was confirmed, he wrote as follows to Montalto: 'It has not pleased God to grant us such a blessing, for that death alone could prevent this kingdom falling under the dominion of the heretics.' The consequence of this news being denied was that a deputation of thirty-six provosts of the town came to him, praying that, considering the feverish excitement of the population, he would leave Lyons. He was accused of keeping up secret intelligence with the enemy's camp; of having pledged the Catholic princes and prelates to join the two Henrys; of organizing in the town a rising in their favour. He tried to undeceive them, and invited them to search his house. 'The arms which you will find in my house,' he said, 'are breviaries.' He finally refused to leave, and he remained.[1]

In Rome Count Olivarès, who highly censured the Pope's lukewarmness, tried to force him to issue a monition. On the other hand Alberto Badoer, who had replaced Gritti, incessantly called the Pope's attention to the inconvenience to which such a measure would give rise. His language in this respect was in strict conformity with his positive instructions: 'Represent to the Pope,' wrote the Doge, 'how serious matters have become. In Constantinople there is already a rejoicing at the expected general conflagration which must fatally arise out of the difficulties in France unless the fire is at once put out. The Holy Father must

[1] Morosini to Montalto. Lyons, August 9, 1589; deciphered August 19.

think of it, and interfere. He must not always be too rigorous, but indulgent, to Henry III., and take into consideration the circumstances and difficulties of the times: he should follow the impulse of his kind heart.'[1] These respectful and friendly remonstrances only increased the Pope's difficulties. 'What can we do,' he replied, shrugging his shoulders, 'if the King will not be saved? We have shown great patience. He goes from bad to worse. What can we do?'

'Take courage,' replied the ambassador; 'you will find in your wisdom the means of remedying past evils, and preventing greater evils which seem imminent.'

'God help us!' exclaimed Sixtus V., 'we are at a loss what to do.'

The intervention of the Republic of Venice in favour of Henry III. had not escaped the notice of Olivarès, who, when Badoer called on him for the purpose of explaining its true nature, censured the partiality of the Venetian Government, and let out that in Madrid it was well known that Venice had sent sums of money to Henry III. He declared that the union between the two Henrys had totally changed the position of affairs; that his master was about to pronounce himself openly in favour of the League; that the tenderness shown by Venice to France was strange, and testified little zeal for the Catholic faith, since its moral support, which was apparently lent to Henry III., was in reality given to 'the Bearnais.'

After long hesitation, the Pope at last came to a

[1] Doge to Alberto Badoer, April 29, 1589.

decision. On the 5th of May he held a Consistory; commanded all the cardinals present to maintain the most absolute secrecy; drew a dark picture of the state of France; caused some diplomatic correspondence to be read, and ended by communicating the project of monition, which the Assembly hastened to approve. On the 12th the document was sent to the Legate, with orders that it should be published on the very day of its publication in Rome. By it, the King was summoned, under the penalty of excommunication, to set at liberty the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons within ten days, and to appear, either himself or by representative, in Rome within sixty days. Some days later the monitory was communicated to the ambassadors of France, Spain, Venice, Savoy, and Tuscany. The Pope sent a prelate to Olivarès to explain how he had been under the necessity of coming to this; 'as if,' wrote Olivarès to Philip, 'it was necessary for him to excuse that act, instead of excusing rather his slowness and want of resolution.' The Pope spoke of it to Badoer. His arms were always open, he said, to receive the King, and it was only out of a feeling of propriety (*per modestia*) that in the monitory he had made no allusion to His Majesty's union with the heretics; but in reality it was that very union that had determined the head of the Church to issue his summons.

The Chevalier Verita, who was Secretary of State to the Grand-Duke, had on that day a long audience of the Pope. The Holy Father reproached him severely, considered his master's conduct to be monstrous,

favourable as it was to the King of France, and so contrary to the obligations under which his family were to Charles V. and to Philip; and equally imprudent, since it exposed the Grand-Duke to all the resentment of the Spaniards, and Italy to the difficulties which must arise out of it. These words are significant, and deserve to be noticed; for they serve to show, among other signs, that at that time Sixtus V. saw no hope of salvation except in an alliance with Spain.

The representatives of Henry III. vainly tried to obtain that the publication of the document should be delayed; but, seeing that this was not possible, they hastened their departure before it could be published. Cardinal de Joyeuse and the Bishop of Mans both took leave of the Pope. The latter, still under the impression left by the Bishop's letters which had been intercepted, said to him, 'Tell the King what you have seen here, and, above all, no lies!' Pisany considered it more becoming his rank to leave without an audience. Excepting his domestic happiness, which he found in Rome, by his marriage with a charming Italian lady, a Savella, he never experienced at the Pontifical Court anything but humiliation and disappointment, and both his embassies ended in a quarrel. On his way to France, he fell in, between Florence and Pisa, with the messenger from Lyons, and amused himself by confiscating the Pope's letters and those of Cardinal de Sens.[1] Bad luck seemed to follow in his wake. His boat was taken by the famous

[1] Badoer to the Doge, June 17, 1589.

corsair Barboset. The Bishop of Le Mans gave himself up a prisoner. Pisany was allowed to remain in his own boat, under the surveillance of the corsair's men. During the night he and his followers fell upon the latter; a sanguinary encounter ensued, and the military diplomatist fought bravely, killed a number of corsairs, and managed to reach in safety a small harbour near Narbonne. When the Pope heard of it he forgot all his grievances, and praised 'the fine determination' of the former ambassador.[1]

A few hours after his departure, however, on the morning of the 24th, the monitory was placarded in Rome, at the usual places, in the midst of a crowd of people curious and anxious to read it. The public looked upon the act as an important event. It really was such, for it confirmed the rupture which existed between the Valois and the Holy See. It confirmed that rupture, but did not produce it. In proof of this we have but to compare the dates of the events in France with the progress of the Bishop's mission. The interviews of the Bishop, who arrived in Rome on February 25, come down to the middle of the ensuing month. During that time Henry III. followed up a double negotiation: one with the League, which rejected his advances, the other with the King of Navarre, who met them. The news received from the King's agents in Rome was not favourable. He was, however, led to hope that if he would consent to ask pardon, while maintaining a proud attitude, the Pope might be inti-

[1] Badoer to the Doge, July 29, 1589.

midated, and the incident which had arisen out of the death of the Guises might be dropped, to his satisfaction. Following this advice, the King asked for absolution, but refused to set free the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons. The fourth audience, during which the Bishop of Mans communicated his determination to the Pope, took place at the end of April. Yet, on the 3rd of that same month, a truce had been signed between the Kings of France and Navarre, and on the 21st the treaty had begun to be put into force by the handing over of Saumur to the troops of Navarre. The alliance between Henry III. and the leader of the Huguenots was therefore henceforth an accomplished fact, and it was on hearing of this that, in the Consistory of the 5th of May, the Pope, with the approbation of the whole of the Sacred College, decided on drawing up a monition. He hesitated for another week as to publishing it, and it was only on the 12th that the document was sent to the Legate, who never received it. On the 24th its publication took place in Paris and in Rome. Since April 30 the interview between the two kings had sealed their alliance. It is wrong, therefore, to attribute to Sixtus V. the fact of its being brought about. The union between the two princes was inevitable: it was the necessary and fatal result of the attitude assumed by the Duke of Mayenne after the bloody *coup d'état* of Blois. Henry III. had aimed a blow at the leadership of the League, not at its heart. Instead of destroying, he had given to it new strength. After this there remained for him nothing but a union with Henry of Navarre.

As regards Rome the whole question lay here. The murder of a member of the Sacred College, and the imprisonment of another, were merely insisted on *pro formâ*. The real motive of the quarrel was Henry's abandonment of the cause of religion. Such at least his alliance with 'the Béarnais' was supposed to be in Rome. That alliance was not necessarily the triumph, or in the future the necessary succession to the throne of France, of a Protestant prince, but it might probably lead to that result. In the eyes of Sixtus V., the serious event was not the catastrophe of Blois, but its consequences—the fusion of the interests of the two kings. It did not belong to him, nor even would it have been prudent, to speak from the chair of St. Peter of the temporal interests of a foreign country. The public temper of the times would not have allowed the interference of the Papacy in the internal affairs of other States. The Pope, therefore—or, as he said to Badoer, 'out of modesty'—did not speak of the union of the two kings, either in his monition or in his conversations with the Bishop of Le Mans. As it often happens in diplomatic transactions, he had touched upon the question without naming it, in an indirect manner, while confining himself to the facts which rightly came under his notice, and which were connected with the murder and the imprisonment of a member of the Sacred College. To him, the monition was not necessarily a rupture. As a priest and a Pontiff, he still hoped that Henry III. would repent. As a man of politics he wished it more than he hoped for it. The world thought otherwise. The King of Spain,

Olivarès, the Duke of Mayenne, the League, all looked upon Henry's defeat and ruin as an accomplished fact. The friends of the latter declared that he could not submit to the monitory decree. Among those who censured Sixtus V., the Duke of Nevers, who had joined the King since his return from Rome, was one of the loudest in his expressions of blame. He committed them all to writing, in a letter to his agent in Rome, Camillo della Volta, a Bolognese gentleman, who was one of the most officious and troublesome members of the diplomatic body, and, unfortunately for the Holy See, a Roman subject, who, on that account, did not enjoy the privileges of diplomatic immunity. Volta was commissioned to see the Pope, and dexterously to express to him the Duke's feelings of grief and sorrow, to make him beware of false or exaggerated reports which he might receive from France, to acquaint him with the prosperous state of the King's affairs, the distress of the League, and, finally, the reinforcements which Henry III. expected from Switzerland and from Germany. Volta, who was personally hostile to the Pope, took great pleasure in making this letter as public as he could.[1] The Holy Father did not disguise how hurt he felt. 'That Duke,' said he to Badoer, 'came formerly to tell us all kinds of horrors respecting the King, imploring us to join the League, and asserting that King Philip, the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Parma, and other princes would do the same, and that it was the only means of saving the kingdom; but

[1] Duke of Nevers to Volta, July 6, 1589.

we would not listen to him. Now that same Duke of Nevers wishes to act as mediator, and to excuse the union of the King with the heretics; but we tell you that, if the King does not repent, he may meet with the fate of Saul; he will end badly.'[1] Those prophetic words were uttered two days before Henry III. was stabbed by Jacques Clément. Soon after, vague rumours of an attempt against the King's person floated about Rome; but, owing to the interruption of communications in the south of France, it was only on August 20, in the evening, that the Pope received, by a messenger from the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, official intelligence of the assassination.[2] Even in Lyons, it was only known for a certainty on August 16, through a note dated Paris, August 2, written by the Duke of Mayenne to the Duke of Nevers, which the latter had communicated to his brother, the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin. 'Our Lord God,' said the letter, 'has looked down upon us with an eye of mercy at the time of our greatest distress. It is a miracle. The bearer of this letter will give you every detail. Do not doubt it, our worst enemy is dead.'[3]

[1] A. Badoer to the Doge, July 29, 1589.

[2] A. Badoer to the Doge, August 20, 1589.

[3] Morosini to Montalto, August 16, 1589. The Legate translated the French note into Italian.

CHAPTER V.

CHANGES OF POLICY AFTER THE DEATH OF HENRY III.

In consequence of the death of the last of the Valois, the affairs of France had assumed a new phase. The proclamation of Henry IV., the act which rallied to him all the heads of the Catholic nobility, without his consenting to embrace their creed, produced the most painful impression at the Vatican. 'Henceforth,' it was said in Rome, 'there are but two camps: on the one hand the League, on the other the leader of the Huguenots, who, it is true, is recognised by many Catholics, but who, besides his personal capacity, is strong by the powerful army which he commands, and the nucleus of which is Protestant. If Henry comes out victorious, as is almost certain if the League is left to its single forces, heresy must triumph with him, for it is evident that the Protestant element is in the ascendant among his adherents. It is also very clear that those who placed him on the throne of France will not allow their efforts to benefit the Catholic religion: they are not likely to give up the cause for which they have fought and conquered.' This perfectly logical reasoning was based besides upon the position of affairs at the time, such as it appeared immediately after the death of Henry III., or, at least, such as it

was known, or supposed to be, in Rome towards the end of the month of August. If, however, noblemen, prelates, and Catholic cities continued to espouse the cause of Henry, he would no longer be only the representative of the Huguenot element. The day might even come when the parts would be changed, when the Protestant troops would not be in the majority, and in that case the triumph of Navarre would not necessarily be that of heresy. To understand the conduct of Sixtus V. it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind these two possible contingencies, the second of which had not yet entered his mind at the time of which we are speaking, that is in September and until the end of the year. Then, in his opinion, faith ran the greatest risks in France. To save it at any price, even if Philip (though he hated the thought) should become the arbiter of that country's destinies, appeared to him to be a sacred duty—one of imperative necessity, and second to no other consideration. If Henry III., after he had broken with the League, had been obliged by the force of circumstances to become allied to Henry of Navarre, it was his duty as Head of the Church, when he saw a portion of the Catholic nobility rally round a heretical prince, to strive to save the Church of France by an alliance with the League. If (as he presumed) the League was too weak of itself, then he must ask the King of Spain for protection.

Philip II. had learnt the death of Henry only at the end of August. His delight was great, but not unalloyed; and his Court cried with one eye while it smiled with the other. All the governors of the Spanish

Provinces which were bordering upon France received orders to collect men, and the Duke of Parma was commanded to concentrate his troops in Flanders.[1]

When Sixtus V. assembled the 'Congregation of the Signature' on the 1st of September, he expressed himself with much reserve as to the course he intended to adopt. He did not, he said, intend to mix himself up with the affairs of others.[2] On the 9th, in the Consistory, he spoke of the King's death. It was a not very flattering funeral oration which began by the words, 'A Domino factum est istud.' He then enumerated the favours he had showered upon that unfortunate prince, who had thus been miraculously punished for his crimes. Owing to his not having repented, he regretted he could not order obsequies in his honour. As regarded the League, he had not been asked for help; he would therefore act according to circumstances, and, before he granted subsidies, he should wait until the coalition had made some real progress.

M. de Dieu, who was sent by the Duke of Mayenne, was received on his arrival, but not suffered to assume the character of an ambassador. He was not allowed to make a solemn entrance, or to have a seat at the chapels. Notwithstanding these official reticences, Sixtus decided on adopting the course to which we have pointed—namely, that of strengthening his ties with the leaders of the Coalition, and at the same time with Philip.

As Henry III., during the last days of his life, had

[1] Tomaso Contarini to the Doge. Madrid, September 3, 1589.
[2] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, September 1, 1589.

fallen in the Catholic opinion, the question of succession had assumed greater importance. What were the intentions of the King of Spain? None could tell; all that men knew was, that the Duke of Mayenne had ambitious but powerless views. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany had lost no time in taking steps in Rome, in favour of his father-in-law, the Duke of Lorraine. Sixtus V., without deciding on this point, approved the proclamation of the Cardinal of Bourbon, which had been published in Paris and in the camp of the League. He found that it gave time for an understanding with the Duke of Mayenne, with the Grand-Duke, with Venice, and especially with Philip, who, according to him, had also an opinion to give. 'You,' said he to Nicolini, Ferdinand's envoy—'you never think of any but Italian affairs. We likewise think of them; but, as Pope, we must think still more of religion. We must exterminate the heretics, that is Navarre, and to do so we want the shoulders of Spain.' He spoke in the same sense to Badoer, and to all who came near him. At that moment it formed his sole and intimate preoccupation. 'No doubt,' said he, 'that France is a good and a noble kingdom, which possesses an infinity of livings, and is particularly dear to us: let us therefore try to save it; but we care more for religion than we do for France.' Filled with these ideas, he finally recalled Morosini and appointed another legate, Cardinal Gaetano, 'as particularly agreeable to the King of Spain, and on good terms with the others.' This change of policy was most distasteful to him, nor did he make any secret of it; but it seemed to him the only one he could adopt.

Cardinal Gaetano started on the 2nd of October. He received on the previous day his instructions, which were prepared by the Congregation of France. Its principal points were the following:—

'1st. Your illustrious lordship will not lose sight of the object of this mission, which is to preserve the Catholic faith throughout the kingdom of France, to extirpate heresy, get rid of the heretics, unite in harmony princes, nobles, and people for the service of God, the public good, and the preservation of the realm, in order that, under a good king, they may live in peace in the Catholic religion. Your duty will be constantly to meditate upon the best means of arriving at this end.

'2nd. You will conform to all the private advices which His Holiness has given you as to what you are to do, during your journey as well as after your arrival in France.'

These private advices are then given in detail. The Legate is to travel as quickly as he can, to see the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and give him the brief of His Holiness, tell him the object of his mission, and ask his advice. He must also visit the other Courts of Italy, but these will evidently be only visits of ceremony. That which he is to pay to the Duke of Savoy, however, must be of a different character. He is to be asked, in the name of the Pope, to join, with all his power, in that 'holy enterprise,' and he must recommend him to avoid that which might awaken suspicion in the minds of the Catholic princes. In Lyons, which was one of the great centres of the Holy Union, he is to

give solemnly, in the Cathedral, the apostolic benediction, and is to transmit to the Marquis of Saint-Sorlin the private blessing of the Pope. He is to convoke the council and aldermen of that town, and beseech them to persevere in that holy union of the Catholics.

He is then, as the state of the country may allow, to choose between the road of the Bourbonnais and that of Burgundy. If he chooses the first road, he must pass through Moulins, Nevers, la Charité, Montargis, Orleans, and Etampes. If he prefers the Burgundy line, he must go through Mâcon, and continue through Châlon, Dijon, and Troyes. During his stay at Lyons, he must inquire how the town and parliament of Grenoble are disposed; and should they be well disposed towards the League and the Catholics, he will send them the Pope's brief through one of the prelates of his suite. He will instruct another prelate to do the same in Provence, especially Marseilles, Aix, and Arles, and in Languedoc, where he must communicate with the Duke of Montmorency. He will then go to Toulouse to see Marshal de Joyeuse, and to Bordeaux, and will place himself in communication with the town and parliament, as well as the governor, Marshal de Matignon, if it be true that the latter has gone against Henry of Navarre. To all these people and bodies politic he will, if he thinks fit, remit the Pope's brief. These private missions must be fulfilled in conformity with the object of the Legation, and the verbal instructions of His Holiness. Wherever the Legate shall pass, he must revive the zeal of the Catholics, and try to bring back the lukewarm to a more fervent faith, and

the undecided to the cause of religion and of the Holy Union.

Sixtus V. attached special importance to the Duke of Nevers being brought round. He was one of the principal personages who had taken up the cause of Henry IV. The Legate is to see the Duke, to tell him the object of his mission, to give him the brief of the Pope and his blessing, to insist on the Pope's good intentions towards the kingdom and all the Catholics of France, and to express his concern for their salvation: to represent to him that, as a Christian, as a nobleman, as a prince, his duty obliges him to side with the Catholics, and therefore to leave off all relations with the Protestants, and, as he did in other times, to unite with the other Catholic princes, in order to exterminate heresy, to preserve the kingdom, and to elect a king who shall be a good and a zealous Catholic. The Legate must likewise strive to detach the son-in-law of Nevers, the Duke of Longueville, from the service of the pretended King of Navarre.

His instructions point out the towns which he is to visit, and the prelates and noblemen whom he is to gain over or confirm in their good resolutions.

He is to enter Paris with the greatest solemnity, and to give the apostolic benediction in Notre-Dame. If the king (Cardinal de Bourbon) is liberated, he is to treat with him, but if he be still a prisoner, with the Duke of Mayenne, with the 'General Council' of the League, and with such princes as may be in Paris. He must state the object of his mission, and assure them of the 'paternal love,' the fervent zeal, desire, and intention of

His Holiness to help them, to favour their cause, and to be useful by all the means of which he can dispose.

His letters of credence were addressed to the Duke of Mayenne and to the 'General Council.' He was to negotiate, as the case might be, with the Municipal Council, the University, the Sorbonne, and the principal personages. If the Duke of Mayenne should be absent, he was not to await his return, but to place himself in direct communication with him. As regarded the 100,000 scudi which His Holiness had given him in letters of credit, and which were destined as a subvention for the Catholics of the League, as well as the sums which were still to be sent, the Legate was to conform to his private instructions concerning the mode and time of payment.

The instructions did not touch upon the question of succession. A member of the Congregation, Fachinetti, had proposed an article providing for the election of the Cardinal de Vendôme after the death of Cardinal de Bourbon. The Congregation considered the question as inopportune. The Legate was simply told to take in that case the Pope's instructions. He was finally to oppose by every means, and even to recommend the Duke of Mayenne to resist by force of arms, the assembling of a national council, and as much as possible the convocation of a general assembly of the princes and noblemen who were partisans of the late King, and were now the allies of the King of Navarre.

This document, and the mention of the large sums placed at the disposal of the Legate, show clearly how resolved Sixtus V. was to resist 'the Béarnais.' The

instructions are equally clear as to the alliance which the Pope was contracting with the League; but they show at the same time what his wish was—namely, to detach the old royalist-Catholics from the party of Henry IV., to effect a union between them and the League, and in fact to collect all the French under a single standard. It was one way of doing away with the League. With this object in view, he wrote to the one and to the other, sending his blessing indiscriminately to the Dukes of Nevers and Mayenne. This was what he called 'neutrality.' He wanted to be neutral, not as regards Henry, but between his Catholic adherents and the League. He also wished as much as possible to preserve his own liberty of action. It was with this object, as much as for the purpose of bringing Catholic Europe to a coalition, that he resumed his former idea of an intimate alliance between the Courts of Italy, and specially of Venice and Tuscany. He requested the Government of the Republic to instruct their envoy in France to reside in future at Paris, and to communicate with the Legate, who was commissioned to act in conformity with the course taken by Mocenigo. He hoped that this alliance, which he intended to extend, would become the means of restraining both the anti-national dispositions of the League and the ambition of Philip.

The news which he received from Venice was not satisfactory. The Republic was evidently in favour of Henry IV. Badoer denied that the Republic had styled him King, but confessed that there was a good understanding between them, which the Pope could

not disapprove of, since it was always far better to soften things down than to embitter them. Sixtus, however, made him understand that he would have to leave Rome, and the Nuncio would be recalled from Venice, should the Republic recognise Henry as King of France.

About this time a sanguinary act of justice, if so we may call it, was performed in Rome. On the 7th of September, as he was coming out of his house, Camillo della Volta was arrested and shut up in the prison of Tordinona. This agent of the Duke of Nevers, of whom we have already spoken, belonged to that class of intriguing men who may be met with in all the great political centres, and who contrive by the back stairs to see those in power, give them the news of the day, whether it be true or false, hear the word of command and spread it about. Such men are ready to serve all parties. They make up for the loyalty and discretion which they lack, sometimes by cleverness, but always by audacity, and make themselves useful at times, though they generally end by compromising those who are imprudent enough and have the bad taste to make use of them.[1] Volta, who was a clever man, was known to be a '*mauvaise langue*.' M. de Pisany

[1] Camillo Volta to the Duke of Nevers. He wrote that, at the Vatican, the news of the murder of the Guises had been hailed with pleasure, and that everyone was delighted that His Majesty was king at last, but that people regretted that the cardinal was not spared: the Pope and the Sacred College were put out at this, but hoped the King would not release the prisoners (!), would treat them well, but keep them in the fear of losing their lives as hostages. All this was a tissue of falsehoods, which were intended to please the King and the Duke of Nevers, but which are sufficient to justify our appreciation of their author.

had to complain of him. Morosini corresponded with him.[1]

His arrest caused some sensation in the diplomatic world. The ambassadors had some difficulty in discovering the cause. They were told that he had spoken rather freely of His Holiness in letters addressed to the Duke of Nevers which had been intercepted, and had therein stated that the Pope had shown great delight on hearing of the death of Henry III.[2] Some time after it was said that Volta's trial was to be based upon three heads of accusation. The one was that he had advised the Duke of Nevers to rally the party of the King of Navarre; the second that he had shown a letter which he said came from the Duke, but which he had himself forged, and in which the Pope was said to have been pleased at seeing France perish, as, of old, Nero from his tower had amused himself in looking down upon the fire of Rome; and, finally, that he had proposed the convocation of a National Council in France and the election of a Patriarch. The Inquisition being intrusted with the trial, the agent's friends began to fear for his life. His son fled to Venice, taking with him the ciphers and compromising papers belonging to his father. The latter was found guilty of having censured the Pope's conduct, and that of other high ecclesiastical authorities

[1] Here is a sample of that correspondence: 'To look out for the rules of the policy followed here, would be to look for the rules of folly. Such however, is the ungrateful task which has fallen to my lot.' And again: 'We live here without a king, without a queen, without war, without peace, and without melons.'

[2] Various correspondence from Badoer, Nicolini, Mario Volta, the Duke of Nevers, Monseigneur de Nazareth, Pisany, and Villeroy, 1586-1589.

in the affairs of France, and to have kept up relations with the Huguenots. During the night of the 14th of October he was beheaded in prison. The next day his body was exposed for two hours at the bridge of St. Angelo, was then carried to St. John of the Florentines, and buried that same evening at the Minerva with all the honours due to a gentleman. This example of severity against so well-known a man was almost unheeded. Cardinal de Sens was the only one who availed himself of it to frighten a secretary of the Cardinal de Gondi, Bishop of Paris, who had come to Rome with messages from the Catholic royalists. He predicted to him the fate of the agent of Nevers, and the abbé, who was nearly dead with fright, took refuge at the Tuscan embassy.

A more serious event made men forget the tragic end of Volta. It was the unexpected arrival of the Nuncio from Venice, who, without asking for orders, had broken off relations with the Republic. A quarrel therefore between the Republic and the Holy See seemed inevitable. This is what had taken place.

The Venetian Government had noticed, with increasing anxiety, during the last month, the turn which French affairs were taking. They deplored the murder of Blois, not that they had too great a partiality for the victims, but because, with their usual foresight, they felt what its consequences would be.[1] Not the least among the dangers resulting from the murder was that

[1] Mocenigo, who was gifted with less foresight than his Government, called the event at Blois an act of great wisdom and of absolute necessity His despatch was published by M. de Mas-Latrie in 1867. Paris.

of seeing Sixtus V. give way to the pressure of Spanish diplomacy, and every effort was made to prevent it.

The Senate sent message after message to the Pope to say that if he opposed Henry III. (then still alive), the united forces of the latter and of the King of Navarre, which were daily increased by the rallying of Catholic gentlemen, and by the natural reaction which the excesses of the League produced in France, might, at a given time, turn against Rome herself, and expose Europe to a universal war, by giving the Turks an opportunity of resuming hostilities. In support of these remonstrances, the Senate produced the reports which it received from Constantinople and from all the Christian Courts. The Senate, in fact, spoke sense; and Sixtus V. never lent a deaf ear to such advice. 'We have but one wish,' the Doge wrote to Badoer, 'and that is to preserve peace throughout Europe. We cannot believe that Sixtus V., who is so great a Pope, will fail in his duty, which is to avert the dangers which threaten the Christian world; and that, following the example of Him whom he represents upon earth, he will use clemency, and will not have recourse to acts which would drive the King to desperation.' The question as regards the Republic lay entirely there. If the Pope interfered by force of arms, and in concert with Philip II., the existence of France was threatened, the Republic could no longer maintain its neutrality, and (which he most dreaded) would be attacked by the Sultan. 'We are aware,' added the Doge, 'that every prince must be respectful to the Church, and that this is a first principle; but there

are extreme cases which compel a departure from rules laid down, and constrain us to accommodate ourselves to the necessities of the times and of circumstances. Besides which, it is not asking too much of the Holy See to take sometimes into account the interests and wishes of princes, since they have so often fought for the preservation of the Church.'[1] When the Republic learnt that the monitory letter had been published, there was no concealment of its disappointment; but, undaunted, it continued its good offices in Rome, and especially endeavoured to bring the Pope to stop on that fatal slope which led to a Spanish alliance. It did not forget its illustrious countryman, Cardinal Morosini, whom Sixtus V. had treated so ill. It defended him well, and succeeded so far as to cause the Legate to be reinstated in the Pope's good graces.

As long as the Venetian Government confined itself to amicable representations, which were not unfavourably received by the Pope, whose anti-Spanish sympathies were shared by Venice, the relations between the two Courts continued, as usual, to be intimate and friendly. But when the Pope learnt that the Republic intended to suit their actions to their words, his fury knew no bounds. He had already been very much put out by the Republic having styled Henry III. 'most serene,' when he was already under sentence from Rome, and his displeasure was greater still when he heard that, after the King's death, the Venetian envoy had received orders to present himself before Henry of Navarre. The Senate, being more than ever afraid

[1] Badoer to the Doge, and the Doge to Badoer, September 1589.

of the Spanish preponderance, thought proper to make excuses. 'A wise prince,' said the Doge, 'endeavours, on political grounds, to maintain he friendship of others. This Republic is specially in the habit of doing so. The King of Navarre, having informed our envoy Mocenigo, through princes of the blood and through cardinals, that, after the King's death, the principal personages in France had sworn fealty to him, and that he had given his promise to maintain the Catholic religion, and expressed his desire to establish good relations with Venice, we were obliged to reply by compliments which do not commit us in any way. But, in following the sage advice of His Holiness, we are resolved to observe the march of events, and to abstain from all intervention.'

The appointment of a new Legate, who should reside in Paris; the nature of the person selected for the mission; his hurried departure (the Pope would not wait for the arrival of the Duke of Luxemburg, which had been announced); and, finally, the desire of His Holiness that the Venetian embassy should be transferred to Paris—all these facts united were likely to increase the suspicions and fears of the Government of the Republic. The rumour of an agreement between the Pope, Philip, and the Duke of Savoy gained ground daily, and in Venice it was thought that the Pope's words did not much correspond with his acts. 'His conduct,' the Doge informed Badoer, 'is such as to attract the heretics into the camp of the Catholic royalists, and to increase rather than prevent the danger of a general conflagration.

These complaints were, however, addressed only to

the ambassador, and could scarcely appear in the respectful language which he was to hold to the Holy Father. He was to instruct him, but not to irritate him, for if once put out he would throw himself into the arms of Spain. If not enlightened, he would perhaps fall into them unawares, simply because he was ignorant of the real state of affairs—such, at least, as the Republic considered that state to be, and such as Badoer was to represent it in Rome.

While the Venetian diplomatists were using at the Vatican all the precautions necessary in their speeches, were sparing the passionate humour of the Pope, and were careful not to offend the religious feelings of the priest; while they silently, but actively, struggled against the efforts of the Spanish party and of the agents of the League, the Nuncio at Venice, Monsignor Matteuci, who was of a less penetrating and more timorous character, fearing to displease if he were too easy, thought to do well by creating a scandal.

In the first days of October, M. de Maisse, who had been the late King's envoy, received orders from Henry of Navarre to appear at Court as the ambassador of France at Venice. The Nuncio at once informed the Doge that if that French gentleman appeared at the public ceremonies which were to take place that day he would leave Venice by order of the Pope. As M. de Maisse had not yet delivered his letters of credence, he was not invited, on that ground. A few days afterwards he informed the Government that his letters had arrived, and requested a public audience as the ambassador of Henry IV. The very next day

Monsignor Matteuci went to the Senate, and inquired whether they intended to treat with the representative of Navarre. He ended his 'uncommon and extraordinary mission' by an eventual protest against the admission of M. de Maisse. 'In consequence,' said the Doge, 'of this serious step, which has troubled our soul,' Badoer was instructed to inform His Holiness 'that the Government of the Republic are ever decided to strive to maintain peace, if threatened, and to remain neutral; but equally resolved to benefit by all rights of sovereignty, and to receive and hear the foreign ambassadors; and in this to follow the example of the Pope and of the Emperor, who has likewise received the agents of the King of Navarre.' To give further explanations on the subject, an envoy-extraordinary was to be sent to the Holy Father.[1]

Monsignor Matteuci had protested. He left the house as M. de Maisse was received in public audience. In the evening, without taking leave, he left Venice for Rome.[2]

It can be easily understood what a sensation such a departure produced in the Council and amongst the people. Cabinet messengers were dispatched that same day to Prague, Madrid, Turin, and Florence, bearing instructions to the several envoys of the Republic, to make known variously to the Emperor, to the King of Spain, to the Grand-Duke, to the Duke of Savoy, or, if the latter were absent, to the Infanta, and to the Duke of Terranuova through the Venetian Secretary at Milan,

[1] The Doge to Badoer, October 11, 1589.
[2] The Doge to Badoer, October 14, 1589.

the facts which we have related—the reception of the envoy from France, and the departure of the Nuncio. The Spanish ambassador was invited to come to the Senate, there to receive similar information. The Senate in these despatches, which were all written with admirable clearness of style, in measured terms, and in a manner suited to the dispositions of the several princes to whom they were addressed, while they never deviated from the truth, expressed a hope that peace would be preserved, announced their firm resolution to maintain neutrality in the event of a war, and urged especially upon Philip that to receive an ambassador from Henry was merely an act of international courtesy which in no way committed the policy of the Republic. This last point constituted the principal, and, let us say it, the weakest argument in these documents.[1]

Leonardo Donato, who had been envoy at the Court of Gregory XIII., and who complimented Sixtus on his accession, was intrusted with the difficult mission of appeasing the wrath of the Pontiff, and of keeping him, if possible, from assuming any but a neutral attitude. He was instructed to mention the facts as they had taken place, and to employ all the arguments we have already made known, to defend the Venetian Government against any unfair imputation, to bring out especially how dangerous would be a war with the Sultan, whose armies were already being concentrated on the Polish frontier, and whose harbours presented the somewhat alarming spectacle of an unusual activity—who, in fact, was evidently preparing a maritime expe-

[1] The Doge to the Venetian Ambassador at Prague, October 14, 1589.

dition, and who seemed to be resolved to invade the Adriatic.[1]

The Nuncio's conduct was severely censured, but with measured expressions. His protest was a breach of sovereign rights, that inestimable treasure handed down from generation to generation in the Republic of St. Mark. If princes there were who were interested in the independence of Venice, they must be the Italian sovereigns, and none among them more than the Pope. In acting as the Republic had done, in giving the title of King of France to the King of Navarre, in receiving M. de Maisse in his new capacity, the Republic had only exercised a prerogative, and had acted with prudence, following the customs and usages common to all nations. It had acted according to precedent, given by Popes and by Emperors; and had obeyed an undoubted maxim of international politeness, which requires that even the envoys of Powers with whom a State is at war should be graciously received. The Holy Father did not object to the Republic receiving M. de Maisse as the ambassador of the King of Navarre, but objected to his being received as the envoy of France. The Republic, on the other hand, would not admit the difference, on the ground that it had no right to solve implicitly the question of succession in France, and that it would be entirely in the wrong if, through such an assumption of right, it brought upon the country the wrath of a prince who had been proclaimed king by the army under the very eyes and with the consent of the dying Henry III.; who had been hailed

[1] Instructions to Leonardo Donato, October 21, 1589.

by princes of the blood, by cardinals, by many prelates, and by a great part of the French nobility; who was besides desirous to preserve the Catholic religion in the country, and had sworn to do so; and who was himself disposed to become a Catholic. Navarre had also raised a hope, which appeared to be justifiable, that he would soon quell the rebellion in France; but how dangerous might he become if, driven to desperation by all issues being closed to him, he were, by the help of the Germans and of all those who daily increased his ranks, to turn against the Catholic princes, and to seek a refuge in a general war, which would set the whole of Christianity on fire, and of which Italy and Rome would no doubt be the first victims! Such were the instructions of the envoy-extraordinary. To facilitate his mission at its outset, M. de Maisse was requested not to appear at the public ceremonies.

While the Republic was trying to avoid difficulties with Rome, events in France were producing somewhat of a reaction upon the feelings of Sixtus V. At times the possibility of Henry's conversion struck him in a less unfavourable light than formerly, when he was at the head of the Huguenots, when he could hope for victory only through them, and when his victory implied the triumph of Protestantism. The adhesion of so many members of the high aristocracy and nobility of France had changed matters. If he gained a victory he would owe it principally to them, and his conversion would follow as a natural consequence. It would not be necessarily a pretended one, for it would no longer be a means of success, since the

Catholics would not have asked it of him before joining his standard. It might even be sincere, and this in the Pope's mind was the essential point. Henry, besides, must in all probability be victorious, and undoubtedly so if Spain did not interfere. Such interference, however, could be much less easily justified after Henry's abjuration, and after his obtaining the forgiveness of the Head of the Church. At one time, but for a moment only, Sixtus V. entertained this idea ; and, without belying his previous language, he showed himself more disposed to listen to the arguments of Henry IV.

On his return from Sermoneta, from one of his rare and short excursions, this change, which was but momentary, was noticed.[1] The Pope had at first insisted on the Republic holding no official intercourse with the envoy of the King of Navarre, but afterwards relented, without, however, agreeing to his being recognised as ambassador of the King of France. Now he even conceded this point, but on the condition that M. de Maisse should not reside permanently in Venice.

On leaving his post at Venice, Monsignor Matteuci had lost not a minute in reaching Rome. He had arrived during the absence of the Pope, who, on his return, showed his displeasure and would not receive him. He made no secret of it to Badoer, who suggested that the Nuncio should be ordered back to his post, which, he said, would be the best means of satisfying the Government of Venice. Without a moment's reflection, the Pope rang the bell and told Monsignor

[1] Badoer to the Doge, October 21, 1589.

Bertinat, who was his 'cameriere segreto,' 'to inform Archbishop Matteuci that as he came *incognito*, he was to return at once by the way he had arrived; that he was to get on horseback without delay, and that he wished to know that very evening whether he was gone, as he allowed no answer.' It was evident that he was better disposed. Towards the end of this audience, the conversation took a more important turn, and exceeded all the hopes of Badoer. Sixtus always maintained that an ordinary French ambassador was not to be admitted, that the Emperor acted so, and had never replied to the letters of the King: that he even thought he had committed a sin in reading them, but that on this head His Majesty was mistaken, since one could not sin involuntarily, and he repeated several times that the Republic had a fine opportunity of advising Navarre to be reconciled with the Church. 'If he did so, he would be much favoured, and we would all of us embrace him.' While these intimate outpourings were still going on, the unfortunate archbishop mounted his horse on his way back to Venice, to which place he travelled as quickly as he had travelled from it.

While the Venetian envoy was much delighted, the Spanish ambassador was in the same measure despondING. One word from the latter produced a certain impression upon the Pope, and almost made him regret that he had sent back his nuncio. 'If,' said Olivarès, 'M. de Maisse is received, both the King, my master, and the Duke of Savoy will recall their ministers, and there will remain at Venice none but the representatives

of the Pope and of a heretic.' The word told. In the next Consistory Sixtus V. excused the fact of his having sent back Monsignor Matteuci by saying that he had left of his own accord, but added that he was always determined to recall him should M. de Maisse be received as resident envoy at Venice. The great majority in the Sacred College approved this resolution, and Cardinal Cornaro went to Badoer's to tell him what had passed, as well as of an interview which he had had with the Pope.

'You men of Venice,' said the Pope, 'have caused us much trouble, though you are reputed to be wise, slow in making up your minds, and clever in turning time to your advantage whenever there is a doubtful question. We have seen old engravings representing old Venetians, with glasses to their eyes, and looking at others; and we have heard it said that, as regards the Papacy, the Venetians always liked to look out of the window. Now they are acting with haste, wish to receive a resident envoy from a heretic who has been excommunicated, and do that which no prince, great or small, has ever done. Where is the prudence of those who pronounce in favour of a man who is still armed, and whose final success and victory are yet uncertain? It is said that Christian princes had negotiated with the Queen of England without incurring the ecclesiastical censure; but Elizabeth was crowned a Catholic, and, though she has been declared to be deprived of her kingdom, she has never lost possession of it. We love and respect the Republic. We know that there are many honest people in Venice, but there

are also many bad ones, and the old people are frightened by the young, who have not all the necessary prudence. We must wait for the arrival of Donato, who knows so well how to defend the interests of his country, except those which concern religion; but eloquence is not sufficient where there are no good reasons to allege. We have nothing to reproach the King of Navarre with, except as regards religion; we would not excommunicate him because we would not drive him to despair, because we wished to leave a door open to negotiations, which we can no longer do unless he himself begins them; but when we were elected, the bull was ready, there only remained to put the name of Sixtus V. instead of that of Gregory. God has ever protected us; He will still do so in the event of our being obliged to make some manifestation against the Republic.'

The noise made by Monsignor Matteuci's immediate return to his post had not ceased. So violent were the outcries of the Spanish faction that the Pope in another Consistory finished by upbraiding the Republic of Venice. In presence of Badoer, however, his official anger ceased; his zeal and deep love for Venice showed itself; and what most struck the intelligent ambassador was, that the idea of a reconciliation, to be brought about by the Republic, through the intervention of M. de Maisse, was getting a stronger hold over his mind. During his interviews, Badoer gave proofs of infinite tact, cleverness, and readiness. The Holy Father asked him 'whether the Republic would have more respect for an excommunicated sovereign

than for the Head of the Church?' 'Would your Holiness be led away into doing the business of others?' 'Certainly not,' replied the Pope, whilst he complained of the terrible and tiresome activity of certain ambassadors at his Court. By touching upon the tender point of the pressure exercised by Olivarès, and by turning to profit the secret and deeply rooted susceptibilities of the Pontiff, Badoer succeeded in averting the storm from breaking, in preventing any fresh disagreeable demonstration, and in preparing the way for Leonardo Donato.

The attitude of the Republic of Venice, which was more and more favourable to Henry, had, as may be remembered, brought down upon it the displeasure of Philip II. Venice tried to justify its conduct either through its ambassador in Madrid or through Badoer, who was always most attentive in his manner towards Olivarès. Contarini, who succeeded in getting an audience of the Catholic King, explained the policy of his Government, and in a few words hinted at the encroachments of the Papacy upon the temporal power of sovereigns. He knew it was a means of pleasing Philip, who received him graciously, and with that cold but courteous affability which he always showed to representatives of foreign Courts, on the rare occasions when they were allowed to see him. Not a word of reproach escaped his lips; nothing showed any wish on his part to enter into a discussion. Such was not the duty of a king. Ministers, not sovereigns, were the proper people to discuss matters. To the studied and long statement of Contarini he replied in vague words.

Two expressions of his, however, struck the ambassador. 'In French matters,' said the King, 'faith is in question. That is why they are important.' This was equivalent to his saying, 'My mind is made up; I shall support the League to the end, because the question is one of faith, and upon such questions it is impossible to compound.' With regard to Donato's mission to Rome, the King expressed his conviction that that ambassador would easily succeed in calming the Holy Father. The somewhat sarcastic tone in which these words were uttered made Contarini believe that, in the opinion of the King, the understanding between Rome and Venice was more complete and more solid than was generally believed. These two little phrases produced a greater effect upon the Venetian envoy than did all the vociferations of the Madrid public, which at that time was much excited against Venice, or the vehement discourses of the preachers, or the strong remonstrances of the ministers.

It was only towards the end of November that the Nestor of Venetian diplomacy, who had been so impatiently expected, arrived in Rome. Accompanied by Badoer, he had at once an audience of the Pope, and was received both graciously and cordially.[1] The question respecting M. de Maisse was discussed, and both sides used the arguments known already to the reader. 'How,' exclaimed the Pope, 'could the good old sages commit such a frolic? They are not fools enough to do that which no other prince has ever

[1] Badoer and Donato to the Doge, November 25, 1589.

done!' He spoke of the eyeglass as being the emblem of the prudence of Venice, spared no blame, but controlled his temper and spoke with good humour and all the openness of a true and faithful friend who, regretting the fault that has been committed, is anxious to help in repairing it. On neither side was anything said which might be disagreeable to Philip. The Venetian envoys, however, in complaining of the ill-natured rumours which had been purposely spread, made a slight allusion to Spanish diplomacy. Sixtus at once asserted that Olivarès always showed himself most kindly disposed towards the Republic. This mutual reserve shows how great at that critical moment was the influence of Spain in the Catholic party. Donato and Badoer wished especially to find out what the Pontiff really thought of Henry's conversion. 'It cannot be painful to His Holiness,' they said, 'to learn that there is an agent of Navarre in Venice. It will be the means which will enable the Republic to interpose its good offices.' The Pope was, in fact, of that opinion. He had himself declared it several times to Badoer, but would not enter into any transaction of the kind without the knowledge of the Spanish diplomatists. 'No,' he replied, 'we do not ask, nor do we wish that the Republic should act as intermediary with Navarre. That would produce a contrary effect, would make the man more assuming and more proud than he is already. Three princes were excommunicated—the late King, the Prince of Condé, and Navarre. The two first have ended miserably. We do not doubt that Navarre will finish his days in the same way.'

The audience lasted two hours, and both ambassadors took leave with the impression that, unless unforeseen circumstances occurred, the Pope would not break with Venice. 'He is full of good sense,' they wrote to the Doge, 'and takes a sincere interest in the affairs of the Republic. His interests are ours, and both parties will try and settle the difficulty.'

The second audience was less satisfactory. Donato had begun by asking leave to return to Venice, for, he said, he believed his explanations had satisfied His Holiness, and hence his mission was at an end. The Pope was not of that opinion; a long discussion ensued. The same arguments were repeated over and over again, the Pope got more and more excited, while the ambassadors kept as calm as possible in the midst of the storm. 'You are afraid of Navarre! Why? Let us see, let us talk between ourselves! He will have much to do to ingratiate himself with his subjects, and to quiet a country so torn by factions and revolts as France. The Republic has nothing to be afraid of from him. If necessary, we ourselves shall defend Venice; we shall give her money and soldiers, and we are wanting in neither. We can do you more good than he can do you harm. The Catholic King issued his decision as regards titles, which was an offence against us. He revoked the decision. The governor at Gaëta insisted on our galleys being the first to salute the forts; we interdicted him, and would have done even more had not the Catholic King arranged matters to our satisfaction. Why did he do it? Because he was afraid? But as regards material force, we are but

a fly and he is an elephant. He did it out of respect for the vicar of Christ upon earth. So should those good old senators act, who everyone of them are capable of governing the world. We do not ask that Maisse be expelled from, or not received at the Senate, but only that he should not be received with all the carpets and honours due to the rank of a French ambassador. It would be an insult to us, an encouragement to Navarre, who is a heretic and excommunicated, and a serious injury to the Catholics.'

The ambassadors left the Pope's closet in an anxious but not a despairing frame of mind. The Holy Father did not intend to break, but required that some outward mark, however slight it might be, should prove that the Republic did not intend to be the first and only Catholic power to recognise Henry as King of France. The ambassadors understood this, and tried to find the means of satisfying the Pope in this respect. It often happens in diplomatic transactions that matters of primary interest are discussed under the guise of a secondary, if not a most unimportant question. Here was a question as to the succession to the throne of France, the preservation of the Catholic religion in that country, of the position of Europe and the independence of the Holy See. If Venice was alone to recognize Henry, before the latter had recanted, a new phase, and in the eyes of the Pope a bad phase, would be entered upon. Unable to solve the matter according to his own wish, he tried to postpone it. The Republic must be stopped, without breaking with it; for if he broke with it, then it could not be stopped. This very serious com-

plication, the most serious one of that day, appeared under the guise of a question of etiquette. One carpet more or less could decide the state of France and of Europe, just as a small iron bar or a point out of order can cause a train to run off the rails. That means, then, was to be found. Twice the Pope had spoken of a carpet. Was it that of the ante-chamber of the college of senators, or another? That is what the ambassadors inquire of each other, for the Pope has not explained himself more explicitly. Perhaps it would be enough if the Doge remained sitting when M. de Maisse was ushered into his presence, or if the latter were received in the Doge's private apartments instead of in the senate-hall. Donato decided on postponing his departure, and on requesting the instructions of his Government as to these childish points, under cover of which momentous interests were being discussed.

Six days after they had their third audience. At its outset the Pope appeared to be exceedingly angry, and stopped Donato every time the latter wished to speak. He had always, he said, intended to provide for the succession in France, in concert with the Emperor, with Spain, and with the Republic; but the latter wished to act alone, nor was it true that it was obliged to act so because the Emperor had likewise abstained.

Meanwhile, the ambassadors had received despatches from the Doge, ordering them to abide by their instructions. The Government of Venice seemed to be resolved not to give way. Out of respect for the Holy

Father, M. de Maisse was informed that he would do well not to appear at public ceremonies. It was impossible not to receive him as a minister-resident. If the Pope, as he had repeatedly told Badoer, desired their unofficial intervention in getting Henry to become more friendly with Rome, they were quite prepared to use every endeavour for that purpose. The Duke of Luxemburg had announced himself as the bearer of letters from the King and the Catholic princes of the blood royal, notifying the death of Henry III. and the accession of the King of Navarre. The Duke must be received; but, contrary to usage, no deputation was to be sent to meet him. Finally the Doge declared, as regards the Pope's new request (about the carpet which had so perplexed Donato and Badoer), that he neither could nor would make any further concessions.[1]

These peremptory orders put an end to the last hopes of an understanding. When, on the 15th of December, the two representatives had another audience of the Pope, they found him very much excited. He had heard of the arrival in Venice of the Duke of Luxemburg, blamed the manner in which he had been received, and gave way to his angry feelings. He told Donato that if he wanted to leave he might do so that same evening, that he (the Pope) would not retain him, and that Badoer was equally at liberty to depart. At one time the rupture seemed to be complete. But the old diplomatist would not allow that he was beaten. He had nothing new to say. He therefore made use of the same arguments, but pre-

[1] Correspondence of the Doge with Donato and Badoer, 1589.

sented them in an eloquent and kind tone, and in so logical a light that the Pontiff became calmer. He no longer spoke of dismissing him, but on the contrary recommended him to stay. He wished to reflect during the time of Christmas, and await the arrival in Rome of the Duke of Luxemburg before he gave his final decision.

At this point Donato was happily inspired. 'What,' said he, 'your Holiness wishes to wait for the arrival of the Duke before giving me leave to depart? But would not this be a contradiction of your Holiness's words? Would it not be giving to my mission the appearance of its relating to the affairs of France, whereas it is foreign to it, and whereas it only refers to a question of etiquette?' The Pope was silent for a few moments: then 'inspired by God,' wrote the ambassadors, 'or perhaps also by the force of our arguments at a time when we least expected it, he said, 'You have conquered us, but we must speak of it to the Cardinals and to the Congregation of France. We will tell them that we got angry with you, but that you got the best of us. You may write in this sense to the Senate, but add, that as regards matters of religion they must in future act with more prudence and circumspection and with all the deference due to the Holy See.'

A few days later Donato took leave of the Pope, who kissed him, repeated to him his former good advice, and added a few words of friendship, even of tenderness, for the Republic, showing how evidently pleased he was that, notwithstanding the Spanish pressure, he had

avoided a rupture with the first Italian State, and how still more delighted he was at having thereby maintained the friendly relations between the Catholic States, which he considered to be now more important than ever. If Navarre did not repent, the coalition against him was safe, and, as will be seen, it was then that Sixtus was engaged in forming it. That coalition was to crush Henry, and their religion would be saved, though it is true at the expense of the integrity of French territory. But if Navarre recanted, as the Pope did not cease to hope, though he only allowed it in moments of freedom with his intimate friends, that union between the Catholic countries would be still more useful, as it would make him the supreme ruler, and would allow him—by making use of the fears which Spain inspired at Venice, at Florence, in Germany, and even at Prague—to check Philip's ambition with the help of those very countries, and thus to save France and religion at the same time.

CHAPTER VI.

EFFORTS OF HENRY OF NAVARRE TO GAIN THE POPE OVER.

The union of Henry of Navarre with the princes of the blood and with the Catholic nobility of France, of which country he had been proclaimed King, brought the Duke of Luxemburg again upon the stage of the world. He reappeared in Italy, passed through Venice, Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence, at each of which places he remitted letters from the King, the princes, the cardinals, and the great Catholic dignitaries of the State. As has been seen, he was received unofficially as a temporary ambassador of the King of France. The Grand-Duke Ferdinand, while he received him most graciously, refused to take the King's letter, and only read those brought to him from the princes. He explained his conduct by his deference to the Head of the Church, to whom he wished to leave the initiative in this matter. The Duke of Mantua did the same. The Duke of Ferrara had received the King's letters, but sent them to the Pope, saying that they had been deposited upon his table without his perceiving them. With the exception, therefore, of the Duke of Savoy, who was a vassal of Spain, all the other Italian princes went with the Pope.

On the first of the year (1589) Sixtus V. called all

the cardinals and ambassadors into the room where he was wont to dress before going to chapel. He wished them a happy new year, told them the last news from France and from Poland, and announced the coming arrival of the Duke of Luxemburg. As he was leaving the room, Badoer, seeing the Pope so well disposed, took a favourable opportunity of whispering into the Pontiff's ear, 'You must pray God that He inspire Navarre. The day your Holiness gives him the kiss of peace, but that day only, France will be all right again. Humanly speaking, there is no other means of pacifying that kingdom.' The Pope merely answered that God would do everything for the best, and that as for himself, he was content to wait.

The Duke of Luxemburg arrived in the first days of January, and, to the great displeasure of Olivarès and of the Spanish faction, was received two days after. A gracious message from the Pope to the French envoy, which was taken to him by Cardinal Montalto, seemed to augur favourably.

The Duke went to the Vatican with his suite in twenty-two coaches; but, when he arrived at the palace, he found the door of the Pope's apartment shut, the guard strengthened, and the officers in waiting ordered to require that every Frenchman, except the ambassador, should give up his sword. When they arrived at the 'bursola,' which is the door of the Pope's closet, the Duke and three gentlemen of his suite were alone allowed to enter. Besides the indignation to which the Frenchmen gave way, there was a fear on their part that a trap had been laid for them.

Luxemburg himself had some vague apprehension, and was much surprised to find himself received with open arms by the Pope, who asked him news of his journey, and told him that he would have liked to give him hospitality in the Vatican, made him sit down—an honour which the ambassadors of kings could alone expect—and listened patiently to the long statement which the Duke made to him. When the latter had finished, the Pope confessed to him that he had not perfectly understood him (the Duke had spoken in French), and begged of him to bring an interpreter with him at the next audience. These receptions, 'intra et extra muros,' were not at all alike, but answered rather well to the position taken up by Sixtus V., who had half engaged himself to the League, by Gaetano's mission to Philip, by his recent steps, which we are about to describe, and was more and more shaken in his resolution by reflecting over what Donato had said, and regretted already that he had gone too far with Spain.

Luxemburg did not forget to pay the customary visits to the Pope's grand-nephews, to Donna Camilla—to whom he hinted that Henry IV. had no intention of taking away from Cardinal Montalto the rich abbey which Henry III. had promised him—and to all the members of the Sacred College. According to the etiquette of the day, each visit was to last two hours. On the day following his first audience he had another, and again found the guard strengthened, the doors shut, and, on being introduced into the Pope's presence, the same cordial greeting from the latter. Up

to that time Luxemburg had only spoken of the state of France, and, by drawing the darkest picture of the country, had produced a great impression upon His Holiness. In his first audience he had prudently avoided speaking of the object of his mission. He had not mentioned the name of Henry of Navarre. This time he broke the ice. He had on leaving taken the orders of His Majesty. 'What do you wish me, sire, to tell the Pope from you?' 'Tell him,' the King had replied, 'that I am not an heretic; that if I am in error he should point it out to me, and I shall give it up. Remind His Holiness that I have begged of him to let me know the truth, in order that I may embrace it.' 'It is true, it is true,' exclaimed the Pope. 'Now,' added the Duke, 'this is what the King told me whilst talking familiarly with me as behoves relations, "We all believe the same thing, since we believe in the Apostles' Creed." "Your Majesty," said I, "believes in the Creed, but that is not all. You believe in God, sire, but do not believe in His omnipotence." "How so?" said the King. "Since you do not believe," I replied, "that He can actually be present in the consecrated host and in the sacrament of the altar." "In this respect," said the King, "we are wrong; and, as for me, I believe in it firmly; and, if there are no other difficulties, we will soon agree."' 'God be praised,' exclaimed Sixtus V., joyously; 'that is really good news which you bring us. But is all you say quite true? How can we believe it?' 'Because I tell it you, Holy Father.' The Duke then touched upon the practical conclusions of the question, and asked authority for

those Catholics who had joined the King to continue their allegiance to him without incurring the penalties of the Church. He also asked that priests should be sent to the King to instruct him in the Catholic religion, in order to save his soul and those of many of his subjects. The Pope agreed to the latter request, but did not acquiesce in the former. He asked the Duke himself to name the person whom he would like to see intrusted with this mission. The Duke replied that he left it entirely with His Holiness, who then proposed Monsignor Seraphino, who was then the French 'auditore di rota,' and showed by such a selection, much more than by his gracious language, how kindly disposed he was towards France.[1]

While Henry's envoy was daily gaining ground at the Vatican, the struggle between the two parties was carried on with increased vigour. The Spanish faction was numerically the strongest, as well as the most influential, in the Sacred College; and the most powerful, because it was backed by the armies of Philip, who was master of one-third of Italy, and was then levying men in the kingdom of Naples and in the Milanese. These troops were, it is true, destined to support the League, but would, if necessary, be also employed against Rome. Olivarès, the Cardinals Madruccio, Deza, and Mendoza, had daily interviews. Sometimes Cardinals Rusticucci and Como took part in these deliberations. From these assemblies the word of command was sent to M. de Dieu and to the Cardinal of

[1] Sixtus himself gave all these details to the Venetian Envoy. Badoer to the Doge, January 20, 1589.

Sens. No means of pressure, of persuasion, or of intimidation was spared. On the other hand, the Duke of Luxemburg and the Venetian ambassador, who acted in concert, tried to frustrate as well as they could the intrigues of their adversaries. The pontifical palace was turned into a field of battle.

Olivarès and his friends asked that the Duke of Luxemburg should be dismissed. Sixtus positively refused, and said to the Spanish cardinals, 'You want to teach us what we are to do! What have you to tell us that we do not know? We were a monk at the age of nine; we have constantly since then read and studied the canons of the Church, sacred history, the writings of the theologians, and, especially, the decisions of the Popes and of the Councils. We do not choose that everyone should deem himself called upon to become our teacher, because it is evident that we know more than any of you.' Such reasoning could not go far with Olivarès; but the Pope kept to his purpose, and the Duke remained in Rome. How could this resistance, then, be conquered? Olivarès tried another means. He softened down in his language, and, speculating upon the Holy Father's aversion to give money, he prevailed upon M. de Dieu to declare, in the name of the Duke of Mayenne, that, now that the Holy Union was supported by the Catholic king, it no longer required the subsidies which it had asked of the Holy See. To support the agent of the League, Olivarès made an official overture in which the Spanish king solemnly declared that, in mixing himself up in the affairs of France, he had but one

desire, which was to give France a truly Catholic king, which, therefore, could under no circumstances be Henry of Bearn.

Assuming also the Pope's zeal in the cause of religion, and his economical habits, as points of departure, Badoer represented to him how impossible it was to make France accept a king who should be a foreigner, or not born of royal French blood, and concluded that Henry of Bearn was the only important, in fact the only possible, candidate. If His Holiness be led into the error of supporting other combinations he would be involved in heavy expenses, and perhaps left to support alone the whole weight of the war, while he would be chargeable with bringing it upon Italy and upon Rome. If, on the contrary, the Pope lent himself to the conversion of Henry, not only would he save the soul of that prince, but the souls of millions of Frenchmen who, though heretics now, would in all probability follow the example of their sovereign, and would insure to the Church the rich livings, abbeys, and relics of that kingdom, and, finally, save her finances. 'What can we do, what can we do?' the old Pontiff exclaimed, wringing his hands. Presently he added: 'M. de Dieu told us that according to a rumour come from France, it was said the King of Spain had caused himself to be proclaimed Protector of the League and of the Catholic religion in France. So much the better, because that will make the French unite against the Spaniards, and may be that "inter duos litigantes, tertius hæres gauderet." We do not intend to dismiss Luxemburg. We are pleased to have

him here. If he had not come we should have been obliged to call for him, inasmuch as he is an hostage. Not that we intend to treat him as one—quite the contrary, but he is a guarantee of the sincerity of those who sent him to us, and as long as he is here they cannot make game of us. If it be God's will that we are to make use of that means, we are not likely to shut it out.' The Pope cried, and assured the Venetian diplomatist that his words had most done him good during these terrible trials.

At one time he had a notion, which he soon abandoned however, on its being condemned by the Congregation of France, of intrusting to a certain number of bishops and French prelates the care of examining and instructing the King of Navarre, with permission to absolve him if there should be occasion to do so. The very day that the Congregation had declared against this notion one of its members was seen, as soon as the sitting was over, to drive in great haste to 'Santa Maria in Via Lata,' which stood next to the Spanish embassy, and confer with Olivarès in one of the chapels of the church.

At the Consistory held on the following Monday, the Pope gave way to a violent outburst of anger. 'There are blind and imprudent men,' he said, 'who condemn us because we are courteous in our treatment of the Duke of Luxemburg; because we do not dismiss him, and do not excommunicate those who have joined the King of Navarre; but those who speak thus do not know how we should behave with heretics. We know it. There is a wide difference between treating and

compounding, and not only shall we listen to Navarre, but also to the Turk, to the Persian, to all the heretics of the world, nay to the devil himself if he come here.'

But Luxemburg was growing impatient. He renewed his requests for an answer to his letters, and gave out that he intended to leave. The Holy Father replied with much kindness that he was at liberty to go, but that his doing so would give great pleasure to those who did not care about his presence in Rome. Henry's ambassador therefore remained, and a few days later received briefs from the Pope for the Cardinal Vendôme and the princes and dignitaries of the Court. These were answers to letters written by them to the Pope. He moreover obtained that, by a fresh instruction, the Legate should be commissioned to confer with the Catholic partisans of the King outside Paris, in a place which should not appear suspicious. 'By this means,' said Sixtus to Badoer, 'we will begin the parley which, if God wills it, will have a favourable result.'

The bitter remarks which the Pope made in the Consistories against several cardinals, and indirectly against the Spanish Ambassador; his complaints of Gaetano's conduct, who, he said, instead of remaining neutral, had made himself the agent of the League, and promised on his own authority both money and men; the whole attitude, in fact, of the Pope showed plainly that he had firmly resolved upon coming to an understanding with Navarre. The Duke of Luxemburg told him on one occasion that Henry

would write to His Holiness, and would send an embassy for the purpose of asking for his absolution. The Pope replied, 'May God will it so, for in that case matters would soon come to an end.'

It was true, therefore, that he was about to escape from the influence of Spain. After using in vain every means of persuasion, and every promise, Olivarès had recourse to intimidation. Penetrated with the gravity of the imminent crisis, he took upon himself to give out that coercive measures might be used, that hostilities might ensue; in fact, that a war with Spain might be brought about. The Pope spoke of it to Badoer. 'The Spaniards,' he said, 'threaten us with war, and want to oblige us to do their will by frightening us; but they have mistaken the way.' 'Holy Father,' answered the cunning ambassador, 'you do not, I hope, doubt the piety, prudence, and respect of the Catholic King for your Holiness?' 'No,' said the Pope, 'but his ministers speak and write in the tone we have mentioned to you. We do not mean to say that we are not afraid of men, but we fear men less than God; and if we serve God, we care little for the rest. It may be that, if we settle the Navarre business quickly, we may give them something to reflect upon; and when that dog will hang to their ear, they will lose the desire to tease us. We cannot believe that the King has really the intention which is ascribed to him, since, notwithstanding the war waged against him by Paul IV., he sent the Duke of Alva to Rome to ask for his forgiveness, and never went to war against the Holy See when Pius IV. granted precedence to

France notwithstanding all his protestations. His ministers now are very loud in their remarks, are wanting in respect towards us, and constantly threaten us; but dogs that bark do not bite.' He spoke like this for two hours, striving to give himself courage, but showing his anxiety, and ending, to the astonishment of Badoer, by asking him to reflect upon the possibility of a defensive alliance between the Pope, the Republic, and some other Italian prince. After promising to give his opinion at his next audience, Badoer took leave, with feelings of surprise and of anxiousness. There was reason for it.

This is what had taken place. The reader remembers the instructions given to the Legate on leaving Rome in the beginning of October, at a time when the affairs of the League were going on very ill, and when the only thought in the Pope's mind was to save religion at any price. With various modifications that tendency of spirit lasted throughout the remainder of the year. It has been seen how the Pope had, in a conversation with Verita, condemned the anti-Spanish tendencies of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. We have spoken of the vehemence with which he had opposed the reception of M. de Maisse in Venice, and that only towards Christmas, owing to the eloquence, cleverness, and presence of mind of Donato, he had decided not to break with the Republic. Donato's mission had a further result. He had enlightened the Holy Father upon the state of affairs, had given a fresh impulse to his Spanish antipathy, and revived the hope of coming to an understanding with the King of Navarre. The

Duke of Luxemburg, who arrived at that moment, which was a propitious one for him, completed the change which the Venetian envoy had begun, and finished by convincing the Pope that Henry fully intended to be converted to Catholicism. Up to that time—that is, from September to the middle of December—the Pope, though he sometimes entertained contrary wishes, had looked only to the League for salvation. This being the case, he had, according to his active nature, entered zealously into the new line of action. The events in France, Philip's usual slowness, and especially the pending interruption of relations with the Republic, alarmed him. There was evidently some danger brooding at home. It was under the force of these impressions, and during the negotiations with Donato, which, with the present attitude of the Republic, seemed likely to fail, that he took the initiative, in regard to Philip, of measures of the highest importance. Conferences on the subject which had begun with Olivarès, and had been carried on by Cardinal Gesualdo, who was devoted to Spain, were concluded about this time. On December 15 Donato had an audience. It was to be the last, for the Holy Father, who had been informed of the refusal of the Venetian Senate to make the concessions which he asked for, no longer doubted that the Republic wanted to shake off his influence. A quarrel with Venice, however painful it might be, had in his opinion become inevitable. It has been seen how at the last moment Donato succeeded all of a sudden, and when he himself expected it least, in calming the Pope, and

in preventing a rupture between Rome and the Republic. The audience had therefore ended in a double surprise, for both the envoy of Venice and Sixtus V. had despaired of arriving at such a result. By one of those singular coincidences which sometimes occur at the time of a great crisis, and less seldom than one thinks—for fate is often malicious—while the Pope 'allowed himself to be conquered,' as he said, by the eloquence and logic of Donato, as much as by his great desire not to break with the Republic, on that same day, and at that same hour, Count Olivarès was sending off a messenger bearing the proposals of the Court of Rome, which we are about to make known. The following morning, December 16, the day on which the messenger left for Madrid, Cardinal Gesualdo brought to the embassy an account of his last interview with the Holy Father. It was the complement of the preceding overtures. Thus, at the time when one of the principal motives of this grave resolution, the impending quarrel with Venice, had disappeared, Sixtus found himself morally engaged to Philip.

The proposals of which we are speaking were written down in the form of verbal notes, which Cardinal Gesualdo, by order of his master, had placed in the hands of Olivarès, and of which the following is the substance.

His Holiness is disposed and resolved to conclude an alliance with his Catholic Majesty. The object will be to save religion, so gravely endangered in France, in the event of an heretic becoming king of that country, and to preserve the bordering States from the con-

tagion. In the event of the death of Cardinal de Bourbon, His Holiness will favour the candidate whom King Philip may recommend. Promptitude of action and vigorous measures being necessary, the Pope is ready to help in the same proportion as the King, or even more so. He specially recommends activity, and hopes that by the spring the allies will be able to take the field. He intrusts to Philip the care of working the plans of the campaign. Meanwhile he is of opinion that the greatest secrecy is requisite. He, therefore, will not as yet recommend the other princes of Italy to enter into the alliance. The adhesion of the Duke of Savoy may be depended upon. The Grand-Duke has considerable forces at his command, but he must himself ask to form part of the alliance. Mantua and Ferrara are weak. The Venetians will certainly try to remain neutral. If they assumed a hostile attitude, the Pope would undertake to keep them in check.

On December 16 [1] the Cardinal gave the ambassador of Spain another note, which reproduced the language held by the Pope, subsequently to the framing of the document we have just analysed. The Pope implored the King not to lose time—not to allow the adversary to profit by it—and recommended him to follow the example of Cæsar, whose name was synonymous with emperor, and of Charles V., whom he calls one of the greatest of sovereigns. He estimated at 15,000 the number of soldiers in the pay of the King of Navarre,

[1] Copia del segundo papel que entregó el cardenal Gesualdo en las cosas de Francia para embiar á S. M., December 16, 1589.

including the auxiliary troops of the Queen of England and of the Protestant princes, and believed that, if he and the Catholic King could muster 40,000 or 50,000 men, they might depend upon great success from the outset.

Here a question presents itself, to which we can answer only by suppositions. Why did not the Pope stop the Spanish messenger when he had decided not to break with the Venetian Republic? Why did he not, while it was yet time—that is, between the 15th and 16th of December—fall back upon his proposals which tended to an alliance with Philip and the League? In all probability for the following reasons:—First, because, intimidated as he then was, he dared not—because he dreaded the anger and violence of Count Olivarès; and also because the position taken up by Venice was still very equivocal. The possibility of seeing her declare in favour of Henry still existed. This being the case, he would not run the risk of a quarrel with Philip, by withdrawing his proposals at the very time that he was making them. Finally, at that time (middle of December) he still considered war with the Huguenots as the only means of restoring unity of faith in France. On this point, the future conversion of Henry, he had been shaken in his belief by Donato, but not yet convinced. It was only gradually that the wise words of that diplomatist acted upon his mind; and the favourable change as regards Henry took place only when the Duke of Luxemburg, who arrived a fortnight after the events we have related, had succeeded in making him believe in the

King of Navarre's serious intention of returning to the old faith.

The messenger of Olivarès had arrived in Madrid on January 17. On the 28th Philip replied,[1] that, having himself no other interest than that of religion, the understanding between him and the Pope as regards the succession question must be easy. He accepted the military co-operation of His Holiness, and took note of his offer to bear the greater part of the expenses of the undertaking. He believed with the Pope that forty or fifty thousand men would be enough. He had ordered a levy of arms in Flanders and in his Italian dominions, and the command of these troops would, according to the wish of His Holiness, be intrusted to a 'captain-general' chosen by the Pope.[2] He approved the idea of keeping the alliance secret for the present; but, later, it would be necessary to invite the princes of Italy to co-operate, and even to use spiritual arms against those who, directly or indirectly, would act against so holy an enterprise. That answer, which was communicated under flying seal, arrived in Rome on February 22. Signed by Olivarès, who bore witness to its authority, and translated into Italian, it was the same day taken to the Pope by Cardinal Gesualdo.[3] We know what change had taken

[1] Lo que su magestad es servida que se responda de su parte á Su Santidad sobre lo que ha propuesto por los dos escritos que el cardenal Gesualdo dió al conde de Olivarès para remedio de las cosas de Francia.

[2] That important point, showing the Pope's desire to be the Supreme Head of the movement, is not mentioned by Gesualdo, so it must have been transmitted to Madrid by Olivares.

[3] Repuesta de S. S. por el cardenal Gesualdo, sobre la offerta de ayudar á las cosas de Francia.—Simancas.

place in the Pope's mind during the two months that had elapsed since the first sending off of His Holiness's proposals on December 16. When he had read the answer, Sixtus expressed himself vaguely, saying that he was always ready to act with the King in the settlement of the affairs of France; that, since the murder of the Cardinal de Guise, he had spoken of it to Count Olivarès; that, in this order of ideas, he had fulminated a monitory against the late King, and assumed a still more hostile position on receiving the news of the death of His Very Christian Majesty. He confined himself to these generalities. The Cardinal became pressing, and asked what reply he should give to the Spaniards. The Pope answered, that he must first hear from the Legate; that there was a division in the League; that Mayenne had coldly received the offer of foreign troops which had been made to him by Cardinal Gaetano; that peace was spoken of between the Duke and Henry of Navarre, and that, notwithstanding the opposition of the Legate, hasty manifestations might only accelerate such an end.

The Cardinal spoke much of the necessity of excommunicating those Catholics who adhered to Bearn. The Holy Father, on the other hand, reminded him that the Legate was instructed to place himself in communication with them, and to try and gain them over by kindness; but that he was also authorised to excommunicate them should persuasive means fail, in which case he would himself do it.

When Gesualdo ventured to remark that, under the present circumstances, it would be well to act promptly

and severely, he was told that it was necessary to observe the canonical laws—that is, to publish the monitories first, and then to excommunicate if necessary. In such a spirit had the instructions sent to Gaetano been conceived.

Replying to the arguments used by the Cardinal to obtain the dismissal of Luxemburg, the Pope said that it was not he who encouraged culpable hopes, and developed his idea at length, condemning the heretics, blaming Henry, deploring the captivity of Cardinal de Bourbon; but, in fact, holding that it was impossible for him to send back Luxemburg so abruptly.

This vague but significant language, which was at once reported to Olivarès, put the latter beside himself. He had on February 28 a most stormy interview with the Pope. He read letters from his sovereign which alluded to the proposals made by Sixtus V., and announced that a Spanish corps d'armée had been organised in Italy, under the command of Don Pietro de' Medici, which was composed of a thousand German lansquenets, six thousand Spaniards, and six thousand Italians. These troops were destined to go to war against the Huguenots. The King was doing his duty; the Pope must do his, and at once send the Duke of Luxemburg back to France, declare Navarre incapable of ever succeeding to the crown of France, and excommunicate without further delay all the cardinals, prelates, princes, and lords that had embraced his cause. Should His Holiness refuse, the King would advise for himself, and place all his forces at the service of the cause of Our Lord.

Sixtus V. had several times tried to interrupt him, and, when the violent ambassador had done, he began in his turn: 'The King's letters did not appear to him to be authentic. He had received others which were full of kind words and were altogether different, and which he, Olivarès, had read to him. Either these letters came from the King or they did not. If they did not come from the King, then the ambassador's conduct was not that of a gentleman; if they did come from the King, he would reply that His Majesty had signed a truce with the Turks without informing him, as was his duty; that he had entered into an alliance with the heretical King of Denmark, without the fact being notified in Rome; that at Prague his ambassador was the only one who, among the agents of the Catholic powers, had given scandal by visiting and feasting the Danish envoy; that now His Majesty wanted to dictate the law to him and teach him how to treat the heretics. Let the King beware! He would see what a Pope could do if justly irritated. If the King went on so, he would excommunicate him, and make his subjects in Spain and elsewhere rise against him; would deprive him of every grace, and summon him to give an account of the million in gold which he had drawn from the property of the Church.' Having said this, he got up, turned his back upon the ambassador, and left the room. Olivarès, who was pale with rage, quitted the room abruptly, crossed the ante-rooms without even trying to hide his emotion from the prying Sangaletto and the crowd of courtiers who were present,

and who were not long before they filled Rome with the rumour of a quarrel with Spain.

The secret, however, was well kept. Nicolini, who was the Grand-Duke's agent, could not get at it, though Cardinal Gesualdo had hinted so much.

On both sides it was felt that each had gone too far. The Cardinal and a few of the initiated interposed. Sixtus promised to receive the ambassador on condition that the latter should not speak to him upon the burning question. It had been hinted to the latter that His Holiness was quite ready to recede if he could do so with honour. Olivarès declared that he was ready to help the Pope in doing so. These preliminaries being at an end, Philip's representative heard mass on February 28, received communion, and then went to the Vatican. But the audience of reconciliation was far from reassuring him. When he entered, the Pope spoke, and continued for a whole hour, without giving him an opportunity of saying a word. He could not, he said, dismiss Luxemburg as yet, but would do so under certain circumstances; but he must be able to do so with honour. In any case he must wait for the Legate's reports. Some fresh incident must take place which can justify the Duke's dismissal. When he had said all he could on the subject, it was impossible not to let the ambassador speak. The latter this time was courteous in his manner, but insisted on the immediate departure of the Duke. He was anxious to communicate the fact of his dismissal as soon as he could to the King. The Pope replied that

Gaetano's despatches were to arrive in a few days, and Olivarès declared that he was ready to postpone until the Saturday the departure of his messenger. That was his 'ultimatum.' He himself wanted to gain a few days, because, to intimidate the Holy Father, he conceived an extreme measure; this was to have a protest against the stay of the Duke of Luxemburg in Rome read out in the next public Consistory in the name of the King. He did not deceive himself as to the sense of the evasive words he had just heard.

These days were for Sixtus V. days of anxiety and hesitation. He fought, but became weaker. The language he held with the principal actors in the drama, with Olivarès, Gesualdo, Seraphino, who was always expecting his order to leave for Henry's camp, and with his confidant Badoer, bears the mark of the state in which he was. Moments of despair alternated with energetic resolutions, which were more in harmony with his character and with his predilections. When he speaks to Badoer of the concessions made to Olivarès he palliates their importance. He shows himself to have been more courageous than he actually was when he tells him of the scenes which he has had with Olivarès. This reserve, however, does not deceive anyone. It only points, on the contrary, to the struggle which is going on within him. To the Duke of Luxemburg he repeats his ardent hope that Navarre may sincerely return to the Catholic faith; to Seraphino he speaks in the same sense, and in saying this he only utters that which he truly wishes. These expressions are so many wishes, and not engagements; it is not even any

longer the solution for which he hoped, because he had evidently been intimidated. He in fact almost allowed it to his friend Badoer. 'The Spaniards are terrible,' he said to him. He has learnt by the despatches of the Nuncio at Naples that their armament is being carried out on a large scale. Then all of a sudden he asks whether he has reflected upon a league to be formed between Rome, Venice, and an Italian prince; and when Badoer replies that Venice would never consent to enter into such an alliance, the Pope does not know what to say—speaks of Philip as the head of the projected league, loses himself in a mass of contradictory argument, and gives to the Venetian envoy the impression that the Spaniards are for the present masters of the situation.

Badoer was not mistaken. The Pope struggled, but was giving way. The 3rd of March, the date fixed by Olivarès, had gone by. That day Olivarès went to the Vatican to hear the Pope's final decision as to the three requests made to him: the immediate departure of Luxemburg, the declaration against the Béarnais, and the excommunication of the Catholic Royalists. Sixtus tried to diminish the importance of the concessions he had made at the last audience. He even said that it would be imprudent to exasperate the King of Navarre in the event of his being successful. The ambassador thought the moment propitious 'really to frighten the Pope.' He declared that His Majesty was surprised to find that the acts of His Holiness corresponded so little with his words, and that he intended to protest publicly, with the aid of Doctor Martos, who was presi-

dent of the 'Summaria' at Naples. He therefore asked the Pope's authority. A long discussion ensued. The Pope began 'to howl with rage,'[1] and threatened to excommunicate Olivarès and all those who should assist him in this impious act, and to dismiss them and himself from Rome. He even appears to have said that he would have them killed.[2] Olivarès, who was cold and impassable, let him speak without interrupting him. When the old man could speak no more from fatigue, he briefly replied that ambassadors enjoyed certain immunities. If His Holiness intended to violate them by putting his threats into execution, and wished even to go to the last limits, it would not be a reason for him to abandon the instructions he had received from his King. He therefore intended, with his permission, to cause the protest to be read in the next Consistory. 'Does the King,' asked Sixtus, 'wish to make himself Pope? In this case we will first make him a cardinal!' 'No,' replied Olivarès, 'my master does not wish to go beyond his rights;' and he again asked to have the protest read; but the Pope refused.

[1] 'Empezó á chirriar con gran coraje.'

[2] Alberto Badoer to the Doge, March 10, 1590. This is what the Pope told Badoer himself. But we know that he was wont to colour a little when he repeated to his friends the conversations he had had with ambassadors. Apart from this, the account of the audiences as told by Badoer does not materially differ from that of Olivarès, who, on the other hand, also tries to modify the sense of the sharp words he had used. It is this violent scene that has given rise to the popular legend that has been reproduced in the MSS. of the period, and confirmed by Leti, that the Pope, incensed with Olivarès, actually had the scaffold raised before the Spanish Embassy. This act of courage constituted in the minds of the Roman people one of the glories of that Pontificate; but in reality he was more frightened than Olivarès.

The ambassador took his leave, decided upon pushing matters to an extremity, though he was uncertain as to what would be the issue of the crisis. He expected to be dismissed, and was resolved not to give way except against armed force. In the expectation of such an event, he begged the King to give the necessary instructions to the Duke of Sessa, who was already announced as an Ambassador Extraordinary, and who was shortly to arrive in Rome.

Olivarès intended never again to go to an audience, while the Pope purposed never again to receive him. Cardinal Gesualdo again interposed. A fresh respite was agreed to. The Duke of Luxemburg would leave Rome temporarily, and give as a pretext that he was going to Loretto. Olivarès was to postpone his public protest, and take the King's orders. On March 7 Luxemburg started for Loretto, leaving a portion of his suite in Rome. Both the town and the Court were persuaded that he was going to Paris, and would not return. Badoer was of that opinion too, because he knew that the Pope, through Monsignor Seraphino, had recommended the Duke to leave Rome. On the 9th the messenger of Olivarès left for Madrid. He was bearer of a letter from the Pope to Philip. Sixtus assured the King of his love for him, reminded him of the obligation under which he was to listen to heretics, protested against the threats of councils and schisms, and declared that he could not admit that secular princes could constitute themselves judges of the Vicar of Christ. In a postscript he added, in his own hand, that to facilitate the reading of it, he had had the

letter copied, but that it had been composed by himself.

In Rome the Spaniards considered themselves victorious. Their rejoicings reached the ears of Sixtus, who stoutly denied having changed politics. He told Badoer that he was always the same, but the latter did not believe it. He replied by a few respectful words, but abstained from making any remonstrance, which, he wrote to the Doge, 'might have been compromising, since they would have irritated the Pope as much as the Spaniards, and would have been useless, since the thing is done.'[1]

The truce which had been negotiated by Cardinal Gesualdo did not last twenty-four hours. At his next audience, on the following Saturday, Olivarès no longer spoke of Luxemburg, who was gone, but asked for the immediate excommunication of the Catholic adherents of the King of Navarre. Then followed another of those lamentable scenes in which the Pope flew into a passion, called Olivarès the stone of scandal, accused him of being a liar, and of acting against the orders of his master, threatened him with prison, and fled from his closet.[2] With Badoer he came back to the idea of a league, and found that envoy, whose previous refusal to entertain the proposal had been approved by the Republic, quite as little disposed as formerly to enter into such an alliance. What was to be done? Abandoned by everybody; bereft of the support which he had hoped to find in Venice; seeing the armaments

[1] Badoer to the Doge, March 10, 1590. [2] Id. March 17, 1590.

of Philip both at Milan and Naples carried on with extreme energy, contrary to the customary slow habits of the Spaniards; the old Pontiff seemed to sink beneath the weight of the dangers that surrounded him, of the threats showered upon him, of the anxiety which broke his rest, of the fever that undermined him. When he laid the state of things before the Congregation of France, the cardinals were surprised to find him so careworn and so depressed. He read to them the instructions which had been drawn up with Olivarès, and which he had just sent to the Legate, with a view of coming to an understanding with Mayenne, who had quarrelled with Aumale and Nemours, and who seemed disposed to come to terms with the King of Navarre: an alliance which Gaetano, with the aid of Mendoza, was to try to prevent. He read to them the letter to Philip. The members of the Congregation found all these documents very weakly written, and much beneath the requirements of the situation. One of the cardinals, though dependent upon Spain, had the courage to say that it would be better to authorise the protest, and to answer with dignity, than to allow himself to be thus discouraged. The Pope listened in silence, but the remark deeply impressed him.

Olivarès could perceive this at his famous audience of the following Saturday. The whole of Rome was excited. No one knew exactly what was the matter, but everyone was aware that the Pope's closet was the theatre of a desperate struggle. When the ambassador came in, Monsignor Sangaletto, the little monk (*el monacillo*), as Olivarès used to call him con-

temptuously, lifted the door curtain, and, profiting by the opportunity, saw that the Count was scarcely kneeling, and that the Pope was seated, and did not look at him in the face. The same demands were made on the one hand, the same refusals were repeated on the other. Three times Olivarès threw himself at the feet of the Pope, asking to be allowed to make his protest, and demanded that the Catholic royalists should be excommunicated, and Navarre declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of France. The Pope made him get up, became more and more animated, and taxed him with being the author of all the evils. When Olivarès declared that, if the Pope refused, the King would free himself of his obedience to the Pope, and would himself see to the requirements of God's cause, the Pope abruptly left the room, after overwhelming the Spanish diplomatist with the harshest terms. The Count himself lifted the curtain, went to Cardinal Montalto, and declared to him that he maintained every one of his requests; for he had rather have his head cut off by the Pope than lose it by the order of his King.

Sixtus, who saw no issue out of the difficulty, and was a prey to mortal anguish, convoked a Congregation, which was purposely composed of cardinals belonging to the Spanish faction. The vote of such an assembly could not be doubtful. This wretched means—the only one which seemed left to the unfortunate Pontiff—was adopted in order that he might justify, by the advice of the Sacred College, the last step he was about to take—the step which was to

consummate his submission to the will of Philip. On the eve of the meeting, during the night, Gesualdo, and other agents of Olivarès, took the word of command to the twenty-three cardinals who were to form part of the Congregation. The sitting took place on March 19. The Pope, having in measured terms recounted the facts with which the reader is acquainted, put the questions which required an answer. Must he allow the protest of Dr. Martos? Must he at once excommunicate the adherents of the King of Navarre? He himself asked for a delay of fifteen days.

Cardinal San Giorgio, as the oldest there, stood up and said that he left the matter to the discretion of the Pontiff.

Cardinal Gesualdo then spoke at length, and rather vaguely. He, however, said that on both heads the answer should be a pure and simple acceptance of the Spanish demands. Madruccio, Deja, and Como were of the same opinion.

The Cardinal Bishop of Aragon said, 'that having sworn to shed his blood, if necessary, in the service of the Church, he was all the more disposed to express his opinion freely; that he believed that, by so doing, he would best serve the interests of his sovereign and benefactor, the Catholic King, whom he should betray if on this occasion he did not express his ideas frankly and honestly. Nothing could be more prejudicial to His Majesty than to overstep the limits of obedience to His Holiness, or, in questions of religion, to protest against the acts of the Sovereign Pontiff. Evils and scandals without end would ensue, not only in Spain,

but in the whole of Christendom. In France such a protest would produce an effect quite contrary to the interests of His Majesty. The whole of the nobility, and nearly all the clergy—that is, the whole kingdom —would suddenly be excommunicated by the will of the King, and not by that of His Holiness, who, on the contrary, by his Brief, had given them prospects of obtaining his blessing. The result would be that, contrary to the intentions of the King, who wished to see France Catholic, that country would, in despair, separate itself from the Church. It would produce the apostasy of that kingdom, and later of the whole world; or a national council would be convoked, and then a schism would ensue.' Going to another subject, the wise and courageous vassal of Philip II. added: 'Deeply wounded in their honour and in their interests by such a measure, and situated as they were between "the Béarnais," who was ready to defend them, and the opposite party, who were apparently little disposed to receive them, the nobility of France, and a great portion of the French people, would elect to support Navarre. To declare the whole House of Bourbon incapable of succeeding to the throne of France was only to revive the ancient love of Frenchmen for their princes of the blood. Thus, for two reasons—the one of religion and the other of state—and in the interest of the Catholic King himself, the ambassador's requests should not be acceded to. It would be well to delay the excommunication of the adherents of Navarre until the result of the endeavours which Gaetano was instructed to make with them should be

known, and to fulminate the spiritual censure only at the last moment; and not against the whole body, but individually, so as to await for a few days the Legate's despatches.' In finishing his speech, the Cardinal proposed, out of respect for the ambassador, that he should be informed of the discussion, and of the conclusions at which the Congregation might arrive.

It was with an increasing astonishment that the assembly of cardinals had listened to that eloquent discourse, which was so little expected, and which was so powerfully logical as to make all the other cardinals, who were themselves surprised at the courage they showed, adhere to the vote of Aragon. The Pope could not believe his ears. He commissioned, on the spot, Cardinals Colonna the elder and Sforza to go, not in his name, but in that of the Congregation, to give an account to Olivarès of the result of the deliberations.

That day he breathed more freely. When undressing in the evening he appeared quite lively. 'It is God,' he said to his attendants—'it is God who takes care of us. It cannot be said that we chose our own men: the Spaniards themselves drew up the list of the cardinals that were to form part of the Congregation, and yet our counsels have been followed.'

The next day, against all expectation, and to the great displeasure of Olivarès and of his friends, but to the great joy of the French faction and of the Venetian envoy, the Duke of Luxemburg, who, it was thought, had returned to France, came back unexpectedly from his pilgrimage. The atmosphere seemed changed. It

was not a solution of the difficulty: far from it. But it was like a charge of powder that had been blown off, and in a great crisis. They who think themselves lost enjoy even a moment's respite, and cling to the least symptoms which appear to be of good augury; for man likes to hope. With hope, however little it may be justified, he regains the courage that had deserted him, the presence of mind that had left him, and a resolution to fight to the last. He finds, in fact, all those qualities which, though they do not insure success, at least make it possible. In fact, only a fortnight's respite had been gained; but they were fifteen very precious days. If heaven, that had performed the miracle of obtaining a vote given against Spain by Spanish cardinals, and was evidently propitious, should interfere a second time during that short period—if it should send some news, and proclaim some great event, such as 'a good and great battle,' then the old Pontiff would be himself again—would hold out against the terrible Olivarès and that little Neapolitan doctor who held in his portfolio the abdication of the Papacy or the schism of Spain. 'A second and greater miracle is necessary,' it was whispered about at the Venetian Embassy and in the Navarre coteries; 'and, if it fails, France must be dismembered, and universal monarchy be established.'

CHAPTER VII.

QUESTION OF SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.

That much-desired event was not long in coming. It had even taken place five days before the memorable Congregation of March 19. On the 14th the Duke of Mayenne had been hopelessly defeated. His army was destroyed, and Henry's victory was complete. The latter, it seemed, had only to march against Paris to take possession of it, and thus to become the arbiter of France. The great news of the battle of Ivry, which first reached Rome as a kind of vague rumour, was only officially confirmed during the last days of the month. It produced at the Vatican and at the Escurial very different impressions. It revived the zeal of Philip, and slackened that of Sixtus. 'The expedition must be hastened,' said Philip to his ministers. 'We must not irritate Navarre too much now, when he appears to be victorious,' thought the Pope. He did not attempt to disguise this belief from Count Olivarès. In a friendly conversation with Badoer, he added: 'If Henry becomes sincerely converted to religion, all will go well.' He even admitted that it would be insanity to ask the King of Navarre to recant at such a time, when more than ever he seemed to require the help of the Huguenots. He repeated this opinion in private.

One evening, at supper, after a long silence, and as if he was waking from a dream, he suddenly exclaimed: 'How could Navarre become a Catholic now? He would at once be left in the lurch by the Queen of England and the German princes, and the King of Spain would suck him as an egg?'[1] These words were reported to the Spanish Embassy, and transmitted to Madrid.

To Luxemburg he was less explicit. When the latter brought him kind messages from his master, and spoke to him of Henry's intention to declare himself a Catholic as soon as Paris was taken, he listened to him kindly, even with pleasure, but silently. In the Congregations, which met almost daily, he complained bitterly of Olivarès, of the Legate, of Philip, who had not replied to three of his letters. But he always made a distinction between the respectful King and his representative—'that stone of scandal, that villain,' who was, in his opinion, the cause of every evil. Ever alarmed when there was a gathering of troops on the frontier of Naples (the sack of Rome and the defeat of the army of Paul IV. justified these apprehensions), he asked the Congregation of France on one occasion if it would be well to dismiss the Spanish ambassador, and to raise troops to meet the difficulties which might arise. On both points the cardinals answered in the negative. The Count laughed at the chimerical fears of the Holy Father. 'They are only a few recruits and valetudinarians,' he wrote to Philip. He, how-

[1] Sessa to Philip II., August 20, 1590.
[2] Olivarès to Philip II. Rome, 1590.

ever, changed his tone, went seldom to the audience, no longer spoke of a protest, and sent back Dr. Martos to Naples. On the other hand, Sixtus withdrew the order by which, under penalty of excommunication, he had prohibited any member of the Sacred College communicating with the Spanish ambassador. It was a kind of truce, which was based on the fifteen days agreed to under the pretext of waiting for despatches from the Legate, but really upon news received by Olivarès from Madrid. He had learnt that the King disapproved his conduct. Meanwhile, the Nuncio wrote that the King had personally, and in affectionate terms, begged of him to represent to His Holiness the state of France, and to recommend to him a vigorous intervention against Henry of Bearn.

What was, then, the position of Sixtus V.? It is necessary to make it out in order to understand the line he had taken. He himself explained it in one of the Congregations, and in his interviews with Badoer. The frankness of his speech, which sometimes is even too ingenuous, helps us in clearing up the sort of party intrigues, and the rather apparent than really irresolute or contradictory character of the Pope.

It may be remembered that, during nearly a whole year, which had elapsed since the murder of the Guises, he lived under the impression that religion in France could be saved only by the help of Spain, and by supporting the League. To insure the co-operation of the Catholic King, he had made up his mind to accept beforehand as the future King of France the candidate whom Philip might choose to name. To render the Spanish co-operation

efficacious, he had reserved to himself the supreme direction of the enterprise, and had, for that purpose, offered to furnish a greater number of troops than the King. It was, at the same time, the means of giving greater authority to his word, when, after the victory, the moment would have arrived definitively to settle the fate of France. To believe that he would thus succeed in paralysing the preponderance of the King of Spain was an illusion. He knew it; but it was necessary, above all, to save religion; and, if necessary, to sacrifice France. Apart from some feeble desires in another direction, these were his ideas during the whole of the year 1589; and it was according to these that he framed his instructions to the legate Gaetano, as well as the important overtures which he made to Spain through Cardinal Gesualdo. We know what changes took place in his views after the Donato embassy, and after Henry's message, which the Duke of Luxemburg had brought, and which actually did convince him, as it was intended to do, that the King of Navarre seriously intended to recant. The news from France favoured these new ideas. Nothing decisive had taken place; but there were two positive facts, upon which everyone henceforth must agree—the powerlessness of the League if unsupported, and the certainty of Henry's victory if no foreigner intervened; nay, further, the force and vitality of the Catholic spirit in France—a fact which no one would have believed until then. No; France would not be faithless to the Catholic creed. The proof was, that almost all the nobility, and a great portion of the clergy, and two cardinals, were among Henry's adherents, con-

vinced, they said, and probably with truth, that he would return to the religion of the country as soon as he could dispense with the aid of the Huguenots. And would Sixtus V., who wanted to save both France and religion, at such a moment abandon that noble land to the ambition of Philip, and himself lend his money and his men to sacrifice France, Italy, Europe, the Papacy—in fact, the independence of the Holy See, which would no longer be anything more than the first living, of which the monarch of the universe could dispose? But, alas! that terrible Gaetano was fulfilling to the letter the unfortunate instructions he had received. What about those two despatches of Gesualdo? The reader remembers the Pope's anguish, remorse, and wish to disengage himself. Was he really engaged? That question he often asked himself. When a man initiates a proposal, and when the person to whom the proposal is made accepts it, it appears to us that the proposer is morally engaged, unless events of a momentous character modify affairs meanwhile. The overtures made by Gesualdo, which were sent from Rome on December 16, had arrived in Madrid on January 17; and the King's answer, which was sent on January 28, was put into the Pope's hands on February 22.[1] It was impossible to have it in less time. The Pope's complaints as to Philip's silence were only caused by his desire to escape his engagement. But perhaps events that had taken place

[1] Philip II. wrote from San Lorenzo on June 12, 1590, to the Duke of Sena: 'No se puede decir que se le dió tarde esta respuesta, pues habiendo llegado su despacho á 17 de Enero á Madrid, tubo S. S. la respuesta á 22 Ebrero.'

between December 10 and February 22 could be brought to explain the change. No; Henry had not yet been victorious at Ivry, and when that success was known in Madrid, it only stimulated the King to greater activity. There was undoubtedly an event which, in the eyes of the Pope, was far more important than the defeat of Mayenne; and that was the conviction he had acquired during the two last months that Henry seriously thought of becoming a Catholic. This fact he could not allege to Philip, who had ever given out as an axiom, which the Pope had admitted, that Henry's conversion must necessarily be feigned, and should not therefore be accepted. Sixtus was, therefore, in a dilemma. Either he must act with Philip, as he had himself proposed; or disengage himself, declare himself neutral, and let the king be named by Philip. In the first case, he himself helped the issue he most dreaded, next to the fatal results for the Catholic religion—namely, the establishment of a universal monarchy. In the second case, he would have been accused, with seeming justice, of disloyalty, have contradicted himself, have been said to favour heresy, and very likely been besieged in Rome, as Clement VII. and Paul IV. had been, vanquished in all probability, and for ever dishonoured.

In this dilemma he did what a man generally does under such circumstances—he tried to gain time. He strove above all to postpone the crisis, to hide from the public the true state of things, to avoid all scandal, and therefore to prevent the Spaniards from protesting. We have seen how he fought against the merciless

Olivarès; how he succeeded, after scenes which were much to be regretted and which produced a great effect in Philip's cabinet, in obtaining an order that the Count should behave with more respect, and should dismiss the president of the Court of Naples. To screen himself against fresh attempts of the kind, he commissioned two cardinals, Matteo and Pinelli, to draw up a constitution based upon the words of Christ—'Quodcunque ligaveris'—and which reserve to the Pontiff alone the right of absolving the King of Navarre. That work was not persevered in.

To gain time, which was the esssential point, he defended himself on the plea that it was necessary for him to be better informed of what was going on in France, not by hearsay only, but by the despatches from his Legate. Meanwhile he blamed the latter, partly on just partly on unjust grounds, calling him the Legate of Spain and not his Legate, making use of words little worthy of coming from the mouth of a pontiff, as well as not being logical at that moment, since he declared that he wanted to regulate his conduct according to the information which he expected to receive from an agent whom he suspected of not being faithful to him, and considered to be unequal to his duties. Gaetano was not wanting in loyalty, but he had no political instinct, nor was he clear-sighted. He kept to his first instructions, without taking into account the progress of events.

It is time[1] that we should retrace our steps and follow

[1] I write the mission of the legate Gaetano from original reports preserved in the archives of the Vatican. They fill up the half of two files

that statesman in his long and perilous peregrination through the South of France. He was frequently stopped, owing to the war, and escorted from town to town, giving everywhere the apostolic blessing, and promising help from the Pope. At last he arrived, not in Paris but in Dijon, after ten weeks' travelling, having been detained several days by the order of the Duke of Mayenne at Lyons. From Dijon then, on December 21, he sent off his first despatches. The reader remembers his instructions, which were to obtain the liberation of Cardinal de Bourbon, to organize the war against Henry, to support the Duke of Mayenne, to try and detach from their allegiance to Henry, by dint of persuasion, the principal Catholic adherents to his cause, and especially the Cardinal of Vendôme and the Duke of Nevers. It is clear that even in allying himself to the League the Pope did not trust the leaders. His only thought was to unite in one camp all the Catholics of France.

When he reached Dijon the Legate already experienced the influence of the atmosphere which he breathed there. His first despatches prove it. In these he insisted that the Pope should at once send him help, and explicitly excommunicate all the followers of the King of Navarre. He begged the Holy Father to declare without delay that all the dignitaries of the Church and all the prelates whom he was to try to

of papers, containing—the one, the despatches 'in claris,' the ciphered despatches signed by the Cardinal; the other, deciphered despatches. Many passages are underlined, probably by Sixtus himself. History requires that we should note how alike are all the reports given by Olivarès and by Badoer of the Pope's conversations.

gain over by kindness had forfeited their rank, and were incapable henceforth of holding any preferment in the Church. These despatches arrived on February 11, at the very time of the Pope's desperate struggle with Olivarès, who was asking precisely what the Legate advised him to do.

Towards the end of January the Legate entered Paris. The Duke of Mayenne at once came to meet him. He told him that the issue of the war lay in the possession of Paris, but that the state of that city was distressing. If considerable subsidies were not sent at once, it must fall into the hands of Navarre. 'There are,' said the Duke, 'three classes of men in Paris: the merchants, the officers of the peace, and the people. The merchants only think of doing their business, do not want war, and are recommending peace. The men of the law are composed partly of good Catholics and partly of politicians and partisans of Navarre. The latter never cease to excite the people. The people are easily kept under as long as they live in abundance, but each time provisions become a little dearer they become turbulent. We have no hold upon them.'[1] The Legate at the conclusion of the first interview gave Mayenne 50,000 scudi, which was the half of the credit allowed him by the Pope. He thought it right to do this, he wrote to Montalto, in order to save the Duke from an imminent danger, to give authority to his own mission, and finally to belie the false rumour which the enemy had spread of the Pope refusing to lend his support to the Holy

[1] In this respect the Duke was mistaken, as the long siege of Paris proved.

Union. He congratulates himself, and thanks God that he arrived in time. 'People,' says he, 'in this country are much afraid of His Holiness. The knowledge that in Rome the drum is being beat (soldiers are being levied) is a sufficient reason with many noblemen for looking to their interests and abandoning Navarre. But money and troops, cavalry and infantry, are needed. With such help, and the excommunications, we must conquer the Huguenots or despair of the salvation of this kingdom.'

Mayenne sounded him as to the plan which had already been thought of by the heads of the League of appointing Philip Protector of the Crown of France. The Legate asked that that honour might be reserved for the Pope. He finally transmitted the wishes of the Duke, who recommended a close alliance between Rome and Madrid.

If we put ourselves in the position of Sixtus V., who, instead of finding in his agent's reports the arguments he wanted against Olivarès, found on the contrary the same requests repeated, we can understand his wrath, which was so far unjust that his agent not only had orders to support the adversaries of Henry, but was justified on other grounds. The Legate only saw through the eyes of the League, and forgot an essential part of his mission, which was to negotiate with the Catholic royalists.

Formally, however (for he did not expect any result from such a step), Gaetano had placed himself in communication with the Cardinal of Vendôme. The latter sent him word that the only means of tranquillising

France was to 'reduce Navarre to the Catholic religion; *let the Legate cite him and exhort him*,[1] and then we shall see.' Gaetano finds no words strong enough to condemn the Cardinal's blindness and lukewarm nature. He reverts to the dangerous state of affairs; to the urgent necessity there is for the Pope to open hostilities, to the intention which, as he supposes, Henry has, if victorious in France, of penetrating into Italy and of marching upon Rome. All the phraseology of the League-partisans and of the Spanish agents is to be met with in his reports; and each messenger sent by him roused afresh at the Vatican the anger of the Pope.

Knowing what value Sixtus attached to an understanding with the Duke of Nevers, the Legate attempted to bring it about, but was convinced beforehand that such an attempt must fail. 'He is,' said he, 'a very intelligent knight. But, to say the truth, he has an exalted opinion of himself, and is strongly pledged to the House of Bourbon. He cannot see the Duke of Mayenne in the position held by the latter. His mind is so devoted to speculation that he often pursues an illusion.'

When Mayenne, who was almost at complete variance with Nemours and Aumale, thought of making peace with Henry, the Legate tried to prevent him. In fact, he was certain that Paris would already have surrendered to the King of Navarre if he had not prevented such a fatal issue by the 50,000 scudi which he gave to Mayenne from His Holiness.

[1] These words are evidently underlined by Sixtus himself.

The despatches of Cardinal Montalto being ever full of expressions showing how displeased the Pope was, Gaetano begged of his brother, the Patriarch of Alexandria, to go to Rome, to justify his conduct, and to insist on money being sent until the arrival of the Pope's auxiliary troops, and to impress especially upon the mind of His Holiness that Henry, who was an obstinate heretic, should never be allowed to recant.[1]

Pledged on the one hand, and far too much so, to the League, in good understanding with Spain, then kept back by subsequent orders at the time of the great change that took place, as the reader knows, at the Vatican, the unfortunate Legate lost his head completely, and did not know how to escape with credit from a position which was daily becoming more false. Shortly after the battle of Ivry, he had at Noisy an interview with Marshal de Biron. The time was certainly not well chosen for an attempt to detach that personage from Henry's cause. That meeting also had no practical result. The Marshal scandalised the Legate by his lukewarmness,[2] saying that he was not serving the cause of heresy, but that of the legitimate King, with the well-grounded belief and hope that he would soon become Catholic.

It was after this interview that the representative of the Holy See published the censure of the Church. He wrote to Cardinal de Vendôme and to the prelates who were partisans of Henry, and who had congregated at

[1] The Legate's instruction to his brother is now in the possession of the Duke of Sermoneta, and was published in French in the *Revue du Monde catholique* of April 10, 1867.

[2] 'Se conocia en él muy poca religion.'—Olivarès to Philip II.

Tours, that they were all excommunicated. Vendôme replied that they were with the King by authority of the Pope; that they were trying to convert him, and that therefore, as for himself, he could not hide from the Legate the astonishment he felt at seeing how little informed he was of the Pope's desires.

As to the eventual conversion of Henry, the Legate did not believe in it. That prince, said he, pretends that the occupations of the war prevent his having time to be instructed; but this pretext is a false one, since few Frenchmen are better informed on matters of faith. He thinks of other things than of religion, and already meditates being crowned King of the Romans. Finally the Legate sent word that at Tours, which was the principal seat of the ecclesiastical heads who had become followers of Henry, a Dominican friar had preached that, far from proceeding against the followers of the King, the Pope was ardently hoping for the conversion of his Majesty, and was most gracious to the Duke of Luxemburg.

Sixtus V. had these letters read before the Congregegation of France. He praised the discretion of Biron; approved the answer given by Cardinal de Vendôme; and strongly condemned the conduct of the Legate, who did nothing, or acted when it was not necessary, who himself said that nothing could make the League less popular in the eyes of Frenchmen than the union of its leaders with Spain; and yet, in the face of that assertion, called public attention to his intimacy with Mendoza by showing himself every day in his company in the streets of Paris. In fact he

spoilt every plan. He knew, and constantly repeated that the name of Spain was quite sufficient to exasperate France, and yet he had the imprudence to declare that Henry could not be king because Philip would not allow it. He was right to carry on confidential relations with the Spaniards, as his first instructions had prescribed his doing so; but he was wanting altogether in tact, and compromised his own Government, by daily announcing to the Parisians that the Holy See was going to send aid, when, since the defeat of Ivry, the League was no more than a corpse. Seeing the progress of the King of Navarre, seeing the rebellion in Flanders, which prevented the Duke of Parma from coming to the rescue of Paris, and seeing the general state of things, he did not intend any longer to give either men or money. 'We are accused,' said he, 'of being avaricious. We are not so, but do not wish to spend the treasures piled up in Fort St. Angelo except for a good motive, such as for building monuments or erecting obelisks (and he enumerated all he was doing), impelled as we are by a certain desire for glory from which we do not defend ourselves:[1] but what we will not do is to throw money away without deriving any benefit from it, or without any other result than more and more to offend the now victorious King of Navarre, and to prevent his giving heed to the good intentions which he may possess.' For all these reasons the Pope wished to temporise, while each messenger from the Legate brought him despatches recommending him to act.

[1] 'Certi spiriti di gloria.'

The Spanish ambassador watched jealously the proceedings of the Congregation of France, and especially of the Congregation called 'The General.' In his correspondence with Philip he gave an account of the position taken up by the cardinals who were vassals or pensioners of the Catholic King; he established a distinction between those who 'during the storm' behaved well, that is, in favour of, and those who voted against, the interests of Spain. He proposed rewards, praises, or the expression of the King's displeasure and punishments, according to what each had deserved. If the pleasure which the conduct of certain cardinals gave him shows the wretched dependence of some members of the Sacred College, his rage against others indicates that there were some who dared go against the wrath of the powerful monarch. 'In those sittings,' writes Olivarès, 'the Pope explains matters in his own way, justifies his conduct by words uttered with the intention of not acting up to them, or which he never said, or even heard said. He communicates or keeps back whatever suits him, gets angry whenever the slightest objection is made to him, and declares everyone to be rebellious against the Pope who is not of his opinion. From his twenty-three creatures he exacts an implicit obedience to his will. The old cardinals (those who were promoted by former Popes) are afraid of making an enemy of Montalto; others fear the passionate nature of the Pope, who is very capable of doing them a bad turn.' The truth is that the great majority of the cardinals were favourable to Philip, and if Olivarès complained of Sixtus V. the latter regretted publicly

how devoted to Spain were most of the cardinals, who wanted, he said, to make him spend the money of the State, and thus to place the Holy See under the control of other princes.[1]

Out of regard for the King of Spain, the question of recalling the Legate had been negatived. The Cardinal's brother, the Patriarch of Alexandria, arrived; but he could not appease the Pontiff, who even availed himself of a little circumstance to put him under arrest. Two preachers, a Capuchin monk and a Theatine, had, at the instance of the Patriarch, recommended the faithful to pray for the success of the League. They were both imprisoned. An order was published at the same time, prohibiting any preacher, under the severest penalties, from making any allusion to political matters.

It was thus that the spring and a portion of the summer went by. Olivarès held secret meetings outside the Porta del Popolo with Deza, Sens, and other cardinals of his way of thinking; while Sixtus, who was almost alone, confided his sorrows to the Venetian ambassador. With Olivarès he confined himself to vague expressions and frequently contradicted himself, as often happens with people who talk much, and therefore forget what they said or kept back at other times. He, however, showed but too plainly to Olivarès that his sympathies were all with Henry, who, he was sure, only wanted to get Paris to become a Catholic; to Badoer that he had been obliged to make concessions to the Spaniards, and to all how anxious he was to

[1] Olivarès to Philip, June 19, 1590; and various correspondence of Badoer with the Doge.

disengage himself from the pledges he had given. He mistook times and dates, tried to make his various sentiments at both epochs agree, and was daily sinking in strength. But he wanted to be well, as he was resolved to die standing, to fight to the last with that terrible Spaniard who disregarded orders and entered the old man's closet whenever it suited him, who poisoned his life, and humbled him in his own eyes, since he frightened a man who had never before known what fear was.

We have seen that the Venetian ambassador constantly called the Pope's attention to the dangers which threatened Europe on the part of Turkey. This he had done for a long time, and especially so since Philip II. had openly declared in favour of the League —a source of increasing anxiety for every Government. What would the Sultan's conduct be in the great European conflagration which appeared to be imminent? All felt sure that he would not remain idle.

That very apprehension had induced the Venetian Government — which, next to the Empire, was the Power most directly interested in the maintenance of peace—to depart from its policy of abstention, and to favour indirectly a prompt solution of the pending questions in France. The prolongation of civil war in that country, and a participation in it of other countries, would necessarily bring the Turks again upon the scene. According to a rumour prevalent in Pera, the Sultan, at the request of the Queen of England, was meditating a naval expedition, with the

co-operation of the Dey of Algiers, against the coast of Provence, and with the object of taking possession of Marseilles.

Henry of Navarre, who was anxious to make use of such powerful auxiliaries, not to bring them into France, but to direct them against Spain, wrote to the Sultan and to the Grand Vizier, at the time that he was himself besieging Paris.[1] After telling him briefly of the assassination of Henry III., which he attributed to his rebellious subjects, who hoped thereby to take possession of the crown of France, he notified to him his own accession as the legitimate sovereign of that country. The rebellion, it is true, he said, still continues. It is supported by Spain, which is the enemy of all monarchies, and especially of that of the Sultan. Hence the obligation under which he lies to provide for the war which has hitherto been fortunate to his arms. He informs the Sultan of his victory at Ivry, of his taking many towns and provinces, and of the hope which he has of soon becoming possessed of Paris. He finishes by excusing himself for having so long delayed (owing to the war which he carries on in person) to resume with the Sultan those amicable relations which so happily existed between the Sultans and the Kings of France, his predecessors. But he will shortly make up for this omission—he will send an ambassador who is worthy of the confidence of both himself and the Sultan. The man at Constantinople then, M. de Lancôme, does not deserve that confidence, having espoused

[1] M. Jacques Savarie, ambassador of France at Constantinople since 1585, got hold of a copy of Henry's letter.

the cause of the rebels, and the King begs the Sultan not to consider him any longer as the representative of France.

This letter which, excepting the significant sally against Spain and the passage against M. de Lancôme, is not out of the common, was sent to M. de Maisse at Venice, and through him to the British agent at Constantinople. It arrived there on the 13th of July, and was a few days later placed by that diplomatist in the hands of the Sultan. The First Pasha, as he was then called, showed himself much pleased with this step of the King's, and was very happy, he said, to find on the throne of France a prince who was both an enemy of Spain and of the Pope, the Sublime Porte being always opened to those who sought the friendship of the Sultan. The next day M. de Lancôme was informed by a servant that he had to give up his functions. His endeavours with the Grand Vizier resulted in a permission to prolong his stay in Pera. He had expected worse, and congratulated himself upon getting off with the loss only of his official character. Turkey being looked upon as in a perpetual state of hostility towards the Christian Powers, the ambassadors from foreign States at Constantinople were not placed under the guarantee of international rights, and many times had to undergo very severe treatment. If we may believe M. de Lancôme, both M. de Maisse, by his correspondence, and the representatives of England and Venice at Constantinople, by their persuasive arguments and by their presents, tried to make the Turks declare in favour of Henry, and create a

diversion by directing upon Marseilles or upon the coast of Spain the two hundred galleys which they had armed at the express request of the Queen of England. An English squadron was in the spring to land troops in Portugal, and to revive the insurrection, under the direction of Don Antonio.

Such was the news which the French ambassador gave M. de Dieu, the agent of the Duke of Mayenne in Rome, requesting him to stop at Lyons the messengers bearing the correspondence of Henry and Elizabeth with the enemy of Christianity.[1]

Meanwhile an event of great importance had taken place in France. Cardinal de Bourbon, the Charles X. of the League, had died.[2] For the League, and for Philip, the throne of France was now vacant. A successor must be found, and the question henceforth was all-important. According to the Legate, who speaks of it in one of his reports, there was no prince in France who could satisfy the people, Navarre being a heretic, and therefore ineligible. Cardinal de Vendôme was too intimate with Henry, and not a soldier; the Prince of Conti was almost deaf and dumb; Soissons was suspicious, religiously speaking; the young Prince of Condé was a bastard and a heretic; the Duke of Montpensier and his son were weak and incapable. After thus excluding all the princes of the blood, he examined all the members of the houses of Guise and Lorraine, who were ineligible, being strangers; the

[1] Lancôme to M. de Dieu, July 21, 1590. Henry to Amurath, April 28, 1590.

[2] May 8, 1590. Badoer to the Doge, June 9, 1590.

Duke of Savoy, who was detested because of his attack upon Saluzzo, as well as for being a foreigner. That being the case, Gaetano concludes that God must be asked to provide.

Such was not the opinion of Sixtus V. According to him, one man alone was eligible, and that was Henry, who, master of Paris, would become Catholic, and be then proclaimed King by universal acclamation. The Legate's conclusions, however, satisfied Philip; for if Henry of Navarre, if the princes of the blood, if the Guises and the Lorraines were excluded, it was evident that the King of Spain would solve the question. In his instructions which he addressed in May and in June to his Lieutenant-General Tarsis, to the commandant Moreo, and to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Philip expressed his intimate thoughts. He commissioned Parma, he said, to enter France with all the troops at his disposal. He could not do more, and Mayenne must try and obtain the aid of His Holiness, who, there was reason to hope, would join the undertaking. French territory once invaded, they would profit by the opportunity to take possession of Cambrai. An effort must be made to dispel the suspicions which existed in the League against the Duke of Savoy. A good understanding was necessary between the latter and the Duke of Mayenne. The Duke of Savoy, by occupying Provence, could prevent the Turks from setting foot upon that territory. The Duke of Lorraine was an important member of the League. He must be helped, and both Mendoza and Tarsis would take care to give him at once 20,000 ducats,

and a similar amount later under certain specified circumstances. They must offer him the Golden Fleece, and obtain an edict prohibiting any communication with 'the Béarnais.' The King was disposed to accept, either for himself or in common with Sixtus V., the title of Protector of the League. His representatives must be careful to get the Legate to 'stimulate' the zeal of the Pope. They must sound the Duke of Mayenne as to the question of succession. 'The Infanta, my eldest daughter,' the instructions go on to say, 'has undoubted rights not only to certain portions of, but to the whole of, the kingdom of France.[1] The Salic law and the customs of France cannot be alleged as obstacles. A marriage of the Infanta can also be hinted at.'

There were two great dangers to be avoided: first, the rehabilitation of Bearn, and the Pope's acquiescence in his abjuration, notwithstanding the contrary engagements entered into by His Holiness. The other danger consisted in an agreement entered into with Henry by the Catholic towns and people who might be tired of the sufferings they endured. Mendoza, Moreo, and Tarsis, must oppose any such solution. They must therefore make use for that purpose of the Legate's support.

In a second instruction[2] the King entered more fully into the examination of the question of succession. He applauded the courage and perseverance shown by

[1] Isabelle Claire-Eugénie, daughter of Philip and Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Médicis.

[2] June 1590.

the inhabitants of Paris, who were then besieged by the troops of Henry, promised his co-operation, and instructed his agents to issue public declarations respecting the succession. It would, however, be necessary to come to an understanding with Mayenne, to dispel any suspicion he might conceive, to tell him that in any case and whatever prince might be called to the throne of France, he would occupy the second dignity of the kingdom as its lieutenant-general. Here the King wrote, *manu propriâ*, in the margin, a note saying that it might perhaps be best not to tell him this.[1] The passage was therefore modified. The young Duke of Guise, who was still a prisoner, was to be provided for. As soon as an understanding should have been come to with Mayenne, an agreement with the Legate was to be arrived at. It would be dangerous to assemble the States-General, and to intrust to them the election of a King. It would, perhaps, be better to have him elected by the Parliament of Paris, in which case the other towns would follow the example of the capital. If His Majesty's will were asked as to whom he would like to see on the throne of France, the ambassadors were first to give evasive answers, and say that their master would prefer the candidate who should be looked upon as the strongest, and most likely to restore the Catholic religion in the kingdom. Hence the exclusion of Cardinal Vendôme and of all the members of the House of Bourbon, since all of them had fought for the cause of heresy. This point

[1] 'No sé si es bien decirle esto, ni yo lo intiendo muy bien y asi se mire como se pondrá.' The secretary added the word 'mudarse.

once settled, they were adroitly to hint at the claims of the Infanta specified in the instruction, and they would combat any opposition on the ground of the Salic law, that law being a fiction, as allowed by the best French lawyers. The matter must be treated with a great deal of tact, and all causes of irritation must be studiously avoided in the discussion. His ambassadors must let him know how matters go on, and await his instructions as to the various candidates; but if the election were hastily carried on, he did not object to the choice of the Marquis de Pons nor to that of the Duke of Guise, and all the more so that in either case Mayenne would retain the second dignity in the State, which was due to him, together with the highest authority, and the absolute control of the army. In the event of an election, the capitulation signed by him and the Cardinal de Bourbon must be ratified, and the clause respecting the restitution of Cambrai must at once be executed. The new king would pledge himself not to marry except in conformity with the desire of Philip. In the event of a second armada against England, it must be settled what French harbours of refuge might be placed at the disposal of the Spanish fleet, and what assistance France could afford. If the choice fell on a son of the Duke of Lorraine it must be stipulated that that duchy should never revert to France, but must be ceded to Spain, and thus form a link between Burgundy (Franche Comté) and the Netherlands. If the cession could not be made, the agents must insist, at least, on the duchy going to the second brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and to his

descendants. The question of the marriage of the Infanta was more delicate. If others put it forward, the plenipotentiaries must neither allow nor refuse its being discussed, but confine themselves to a declaration that they did not know His Majesty's wishes respecting that point. They must add that their master loved his daughter dearly, that France was a country much divided by factions; in fact, they must try by happy insinuations to produce a conviction that such a union would be of very great advantage to France. They must give out that all the Infanta's titles, rights, and privileges would go over to the crown of France; and, further, that that kingdom might henceforth depend upon the favour and protection of the King of Spain. Lastly, his Majesty, said the instruction, confided in the ability of his plenipotentiaries, and still more in the success of his armies under the Duke of Parma.

In fine, according even to Cardinal Gaetano, no prince of the blood, except one whom he rejects, Henry of Navarre, had the slightest chance of being accepted. The members of the Houses of Guise and Lorraine and the Duke of Savoy were in a similar predicament. All foreign princes would be rejected by the country, if the country were allowed to choose their king. This opinion was that of everyone, and nobody dared contest it. This being the case, there remained only a last alternative, which was to let either France or Spain elect a king according to the success of either one or the other in war. Should the French be successful, Henry's election was certain: should Philip be vic-

torious, he might dispose of the kingdom at will. He would place his daughter on the throne and marry her to a French prince ; he would make her reign in spite of the Salic law, or France must be dismembered.[1] This last solution especially flattered Mayenne's ambition. As the reward of his election, he offered Philip the cession of Burgundy, Provence, Dauphiné, and Brittany ! This proposal he transmitted through his agent in Rome, Cardinal de Sens ; and, as the latter was about to leave Rome for France, he made it known to Olivarès through a common friend.

By the force of circumstances, and not by the will of man, in virtue of the individual incapacity of those who were called by birth to succeed to the throne of France, Henry of Navarre, by his superiority and birth, as well as by the position in which he found himself, was the only possible king of France, and France could exist but with him. If he failed, then France, under whatever title, must become a fief of Spain.

[1] Olivarès to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, July 28, 1590. Simancas.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DUKE OF SESSA'S MISSION.

THE Duke of Sessa, who had been announced for several months, was expected by the Pope with an anxiety which he could not disguise, by Olivarès [1] with an impatience which was not without a touch of spite, and by the Court and people of Rome as the man who was destined to put an end to the great crisis, and oblige Sixtus V. to adopt the policy of Philip, or throw him into the arms of the Huguenots. That diplomatist had lost several weeks in the port of Carthagena, waiting for the galleys which were to take him over to Italy. He arrived at last, on the 21st of June. Two days later he was introduced, by the ambassador Olivarès, to the Pope, and had his first audience. The Duke of Sessa, who was a son of the former Governor of Milan, was, notwithstanding his youthful age, the confidant of his master, and the instrument chosen by him to accomplish, if possible, by gentleness,[2] what Olivarès had not been able to do, owing to his

[1] Olivarès to Philip II., June 19 and 20, 1590. Simancas.

[2] Sessa to Philip II., June 30, 1590. 'Conforme lo que V. Magestad me ordena en mis instrucciones probar con S. S. el camino de los medios suaves y apurar si correspondieran las obras con la buena voluntad que en sus palabras mostraba.'

violence, which, in Philip's opinion, had been carried too far.

The object of his mission was to obtain the immediate and full execution of the proposals of the 16th of December, which, for reasons already known to the reader, the Pope had thus far left unheeded. Besides the true object of the military intervention, which was to be organised without delay, the Duke was to prepare the way for the solution of another question, which was that of the succession to the throne of France, in the sense of the instructions given by the King to his agents in Paris.

The first audience passed off in mutual exchange of affectionate greetings on the Pope's part, and deferential compliments on that of the young ambassador. It was only at the second audience that matters began to be discussed in earnest. The Pope's emotion was visible. While the Duke spoke, in his master's sense, of the misfortunes that beset France, and of the means of remedying them, the Pope's hands trembled convulsively, not with rage, but with emotion and with fear, so says Olivarès, who was present. Evidently Sixtus had expected a more energetic tone, harsher reproaches, greater demands, and had come to the audience under the fear, which weighed upon him as a nightmare, of being forced to carry out what he called his proposals, and the Spaniards his pledges, according to the terms proposed by Cardinal Gesualdo. But nothing in Sessa's language pointed to any demand of the sort. Sixtus took courage, and with his courage he resumed, in subsequent audiences, his old manner of speaking.

He gesticulated, got angry, and screamed, says Olivarès, until he was hoarse.

The Duke recalled, in respectful tones, the engagement entered into on the 16th of December, expressed the King's regret at the delay which had occurred in its fulfilment, and showed that there was real danger to be apprehended. He finally made a peremptory request for the immediate formation of an army, and for the decrees of excommunication, but did not mention subsidies.

The Pope replied 'that he had always maintained Gesualdo's proposals; that they had not been framed as a convention; that if he had done nothing, the King had done but little, and indeed nothing to succour the Duke of Mayenne during the siege of Dieppe; that he was constantly threatened with protests, but that nevertheless, leaving the past alone, he was ready to make a convention (a capitulation as it was then called); that he was able to raise men in the space of a fortnight; that, nevertheless, he was resolved to throw all his money into the Tiber rather than send it to the Duke of Mayenne; that in giving funds to that duke his Legate had gone beyond his instructions, and that as for him he was resolved never to aid the League, because the enmity between the Houses of Bourbon and of Guise was the result of old jealousies and had nothing in common with the interests of religion; that for this reason many cardinals, princes, and noblemen, who were enemies of Mayenne, had joined Navarre, and that for this reason he would not appear as the protector of Mayenne. In being neutral, and loudly

declaring that the Pontifical and Spanish intervention was exclusively for the purpose of giving a Catholic king to France, and not to favour the League, he saw the only means of uniting all the Catholics of France under a single standard.' These wise words are the true expression of the intimate thoughts of Sixtus V. He was perfectly sincere in this respect, but he went no further. He did not say the last word, which was, that he was convinced that that Catholic king, the only possible one in France, and the only one definitively excluded by Philip, was Henry of Navarre. To these political arguments, which were designed to explain his firm intention not to identify himself with the passions and essentially anti-national tendencies of the League, he added a long list of grievances against the Duke of Mayenne. The latter, he said, had been wanting in respect towards him in the person of the Legate, whom he detained a long time in Lyons, and did not properly receive in Paris. He had sent to Rome, as his ambassador, first a bookseller and next a poor knight of Malta. He was in general wanting in respect towards the Holy See, and allowed his soldiers to commit all kinds of horrors. The Duke's conduct, that of the Legate, and the little confidence with which they both inspired him, were the causes of his inaction. He was also told from Spain, though he could scarcely believe it, that the King had no other object than to make him spend the money he had economised.

The ambassadors replied that the Spanish contingent was ready in Savoy, and prepared to march into France at the same moment with the Duke of

Parma at the head of the Army of Flanders. 'That is the way,' said the Pope, 'to spend money uselessly. Nothing is worse than to scatter one's forces, to leave them idle, and to pay them without deriving any profit out of them. If it suits the King, he may do so, since his galleons bring him yearly all the riches of India. But we are not so situated. We shall enter into the campaign as soon as we are ready, and then, if necessary, we would sell even our mitre. As regards the spiritual measures spoken of by the Duke, he should, to discuss the question properly, have studied theology. We have studied it, and know what must be done under the circumstances, and when that should be done. We do not, besides, intend to drive the Catholic partisans of Navarre to despair.'

He then touched upon the most important point of the Duke of Sessa's mission, which was to establish unity of action as regards the succession. On this head, his language, which has a touch of irony, was intended to hide his real meaning. He first maintained his oft-repeated declaration, that he would accept Philip's candidate. If Philip wanted France for himself, let him take it; he, the Pope, would not prevent him; he would even help him. This was a great secret, 'which,' says Sessa, in his report of the conversation, 'he has told to a hundred thousand people.' If the King decided in favour of the Dukes of Savoy and of Lorraine, or even of Mayenne, though he did not like the latter, he would make no opposition. Every king was good for him, provided he be Catholic; and Sixtus said to himself: While we are negotiating here, Henry will have

taken Paris, been converted, and been proclaimed King of France.

Touching then upon the mode of election, he held that it was not the French nation, but the Pope who should choose the king, as had twice been done at the time of Pépin and Hugh Capet. Such a claim was not a serious one, but it helped to gain time.

At last, notwithstanding the remonstrances from both ambassadors, who insisted on his executing simply and absolutely the terms of the proposals of the 16th of December, it was agreed that two cardinals should be appointed by His Holiness to arrange with Philip's representatives what the text of the convention should be.

The audience had lasted several hours, and the ambassadors, who were quite overwhelmed by the flood of words from the Pope's mouth, the sense of which they scarcely understood, took leave with the firm conviction that Sixtus only intended to temporise and disengage himself. Their third audience on the 30th of June confirmed them in this opinion. On the other hand, the Pope had told Graziosi—who was agent of the Duke of Urbino, and who took care to repeat the remark at once to the Spanish ambassadors—that he saw through the designs of Philip and of the Duke of Mayenne, and that these were to dismember France.

While Sessa tried to impress the Holy Father with the necessity of fulfilling his engagements, a messenger brought him fresh instructions, together with an autograph letter from the King to the Pope.[1] Philip

[1] Philip II. to Sessa. San Lorenzo, June 12, 1590. Simancas.

justified his not having answered the Pope's letters, and insisted upon the prompt execution of the proposals of the 16th of December; quoted, to show his earnestness, the dates we have already given; and concluded, that the Court of Rome was pledged. He shared the suspicions of Olivarès, and finally asked that the monitory against the Catholic partisans of Navarre might be issued, and Luxemburg be dismissed. This instruction contained nothing new, but shows that, apart from his threats of bringing about a schism or a war, and apart from his arrogant ways, Olivarès had not gone beyond his master's wishes.

The King's letter was an answer to that which the Pope had written to him on the 8th of March, and of which we have spoken above. To the complaints of the Pope, Philip II. answered by bitter reproaches. 'Nothing,' said he, 'has surprised me more than to see your Holiness, after an act inspired by God (the bull against Henry of Navarre), leaving time to the heretics to take root in France, without even ordering that the Catholic partisans of "the Béarnais" should separate from his cause. The Church is on the eve of losing one of its members; Christendom is on the point of being set on fire by the united heretics; Italy runs the greatest danger, and, in the presence of the enemy, we look on and we temporise! And the blame is put upon me, because, looking at those interests as if they were mine, I hasten to your Holiness as to a father whom I love and respect, and as a good son remind him of the duties of the Holy See! By God's mercy, where have you found in the whole course of my life reasons for

thinking of me as you tell me men think of me, and by what right do you tell it me? God and the whole world know my love for the Holy See, and nothing will ever make me deviate from it, not even your Holiness by the great injustice you do me in writing such things to me. But the greater my devotion, the less I shall consent to your failing in your duty towards God and towards the Church, who have given you the means of acting; and, at the risk of being importunate to your Holiness and displeasing to you, I shall insist on your setting to the task. . . . Whatever occurs, however, I depend upon the Divine protection, that will enlighten me and guide my steps, and as for the rest I subscribe to what the Duke of Sessa will tell your Holiness.'

Sixtus did not wish to push matters too far. He wanted to appear tractable. He therefore did not see the Duke of Luxemburg any more, but continued to receive Monsignor Seraphino, who, as Olivarès said, was the soul of the Bearnese cabal. The Patriarch of Alexandria, brother to the Legate Gaëtani, and the two monks who had preached in favour of the League were released; and the Cardinal of Aragon, who had become reconciled with Olivarès, was, with Cardinal Santa Severina, who also belonged to the Spanish faction, commissioned to treat with the ambassadors. A meeting took place at once; other meetings were rapidly held in succession; and on the 19th of July a draft of a convention was agreed to of which the principal clauses were these :—

Article I., the introduction, declares the intention of His Holiness to interfere in the affairs of France by a

military occupation and without delay, as he would have done already had there not been some impediments.[1] The object of the intervention is to maintain the interests of the Catholic religion in France, to unite the princes and people of that kingdom, to protect them against the violence of the heretics, to facilitate to them the means of electing a Catholic and Very Christian king, and of insuring the independence and integrity of the kingdom.

Here the ambassadors added in the margin: 'His Holiness wished to avoid inserting in the treaty anything that could be interpreted as an intention on his part to favour the League (here follow the Pope's words on the subject, which we have quoted above). On this point His Holiness has been inexorable, and we have been obliged to content ourselves with a draft which should not be contrary to the wishes expressed by your Majesty, or arrived at between your Majesty and the League.'

Article II. shows that Philip and the Pope are both animated with the same desire of preserving the Catholic religion, of exterminating heresy, of preserving the crown of France, and of re-establishing peace and tranquillity in that kingdom. No mention is made of its integrity. It is to the accomplishment of that object that Philip is pledged.

The following articles bear upon the nomination of the Duke of Urbino to the chief command of the Pontifical and Spanish troops, upon the number of troops, which is fixed at 15,000 infantry and a thousand light cavalry in the pay of the Pope, and at 25,000 troops

[1] Sessa to Philip II., July 8, 1590.

furnished by the King of Spain. This engagement is entered into by both parties for the space of a year. If in that space of time the King of France is not chosen, it is understood that the intervention ceases, unless a prolongation be stipulated for by both the contracting parties.

The Pope's contingent was smaller than what he had led the King to hope it would have been; but Philip's plenipotentiaries, on the strong recommendation of the two cardinals, accepted the diminished number, in order, as they remarked in the margin, not to give him an opportunity of breaking off the negotiations.

The last article (16th) reserved to the Pope authority to invite the 'potentates' of Italy to join in this holy enterprise. By a secret capitulation,[1] the Holy Father engaged to accept and to recognise as King of France, provided he were Catholic, the prince whom Philip should name. He put, however, the following conditions: The nomination and declaration of a king of France must be made in conformity, it is true, with the wish of the Catholic King, but by means of an election, or in any other way that may be just and legitimate, after the King of Spain shall have informed the Pope confidentially of the name of the prince he has fixed upon. Such a choice will be kept secret, and the election will take place at latest within three months after the troops of His Holiness and of His Majesty shall have together, or separately, evacuated French

[1] Capitulacion secreta entre S. S. y Su Magestad sobre las cosas de Francia.—M. Sessa's Report of July 19, 1590.

territory. The future king must pledge himself never to contract an alliance with infidels, heretics, or schismatics; must publish in his kingdom the decrees of the Council of Trent, maintain the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and re-establish it there where it has been suppressed; put an end to the hateful sin of simony; maintain all the immunities and liberties of the clergy, and, finally, call into his Council, as well as into the Council of State, such a number of prelates or other ecclesiastics as shall not be less than a third of the number of members of such councils.—The Spanish plenipotentiaries exclaimed. One of those clauses especially appeared to them to be premature and compromising (that which said that the evacuation of the territory should precede the election). But His Holiness, they added in the margin, is decided upon breaking off the negotiations, so all they can do is to agree.

The framing of the last article cost them most trouble. The Pope insisted that Brittany and Provence, which were called 'countries of obedience,' should be restored to the authority of the Holy See as regarded the preferments in the Church and other ecclesiastical matters. The ambassadors made a separate and distinct article, by which their sovereign engaged to ask of the King of France the concessions above mentioned. In this wise, while conforming, as regards Brittany, to the wishes of the Pope, they did not say that it was of the future King of France that Philip would have to demand these concessions; for that would have implied, to the prejudice of the claims of the Infanta, the recognition of Brittany as an integral portion of France.

The care bestowed by the ambassadors upon the framing of that article had not escaped the Pope. Explanations took place, and the Spanish diplomatists were called upon to declare what was the intention of their king. They declared that His Majesty was in any case decided upon an expedition against Brittany, and to maintain the rights of the Infanta, but that he would settle that question afterwards by the marriage of his daughter with the future King of France, and by giving her Brittany as her marriage-portion.

These last difficulties were finally settled, and the articles expressed in the way we have pointed out. The difficult negotiations were therefore successful, and the document to be binding upon the two sovereigns only required the signature of the plenipotentiaries. That formality had not yet been fulfilled, but was to be so shortly, when the Pope, who was ill with fever, called the Congregation of France into his room. To the inexpressible astonishment of the cardinals of that Congregation, who believed, with the ambassadors, that an understanding had been arrived at with Philip, Sixtus submitted to them the question whether, if the throne of France were vacant, it belonged to the Pope to elect a king: 'an electio regis Franciæ, vacante principe, ex corpore sanguinis, spectet ad pontificem?' This came upon Olivarès and Sessa, who expected much, like a thunderbolt. They could not see the Pope, on account of his illness; but they sent him endless messages, requests, and ill-disguised threats. He begged of them to be patient, to believe that he was animated with the best intentions, but to give him a little rest during the

great heats. They insisted, nevertheless, and used every means. At last they sent an ultimatum. If the Pope had not given his sanction to the convention by the 1st of August, they would send off their messenger, and dispatch the documents to Philip, telling him of what they termed the Pope's treason. But Sixtus did not give his sanction. He pleaded his duties as Head of the Church, which obliged him to maintain the rights of the Holy See. He had warned the Duke of Urbino, and told him to be ready, for he was to take the command of the troops which he was about to raise but had not raised as yet. Before finally pledging himself to the Catholic King, His Holiness wished to be enlightened upon the question which he had put to the Congregation. That was his answer. The ambassadors could not obtain another, and the 1st of August having come, they dispatched their messenger, bearing the draft of a convention which was no convention, which was but a document without any official character, and anything but a treaty, since it had no signature.

During these days of crisis, while the ambassadors and the two cardinals were working towards engaging Philip and the Pope to one another, the adverse party had not remained inactive. Badoer was its most intelligent and most important agent. Notwithstanding the dog-days, and the Pope's fever—'that fearful cold which has tormented him for the last few months,'—the Venetian diplomatist peered into the intentions of Sixtus and guessed them. He enlightened the Pope as to the true state of France, and brought him the last

news from Paris, which was reduced to the greatest misery, and the taking of which was a mere question of days or hours. However secret the negotiations had been kept, Badoer had got at their purpose. He knew all, but said nothing to anyone, except to the Doge, in his correspondence, which, always interesting, is just at this time especially valuable, not only for his Government, but also for the historian, who, after three hundred years, finds in it the key to the hitherto inexplicable behaviour of the Pope, his intimate thoughts, and the means employed by him to get rid of the influence of Spain, in order that he might save France, and together with France the independence of the Church and of Europe.

On the 14th of July, Badoer had already become acquainted with the principal articles of the convention, the framing of which was settled only five days later.

'If the Pope signs,' he wrote to the Doge (July 14, 1590), 'it is in the hope that the Spanish armaments will not be finished at the time fixed by the treaty. He intends to make it a pretext for disengaging himself. God grant that His Holiness may not be mistaken, and that, once the convention is settled, it may not be impossible for him to retire.' On one occasion he told the Pope all he had heard respecting the negotiations. The Pope shook his head. 'We do not know as much,' he said; 'the Spaniards promise much, but do little. If we were to have believed them, Provence was to have been taken by the Duke of Savoy last December; but up to the present time operations have not even begun.

Now they wish suddenly to make great preparations. We shall see,' he added, with an air of incredulity, 'and then we will speak of the affair. They speak of nothing but the Duke of Urbino, of troops and other miracles. Well! we shall see, and when we have seen with our own eyes we shall speak; but meanwhile we do not believe, more than is necessary, all that they tell us.' The ambassador praised the Pope's prudence; but 'I could not,' he wrote to the Doge, 'prevent myself from putting in a word respecting the advantages of neutrality, which is so much in harmony with the duties of the Universal Father. As long as he will remain so he will always be the master of his actions, and able to act according to his Divine inspirations; but once saddled with another party, it will be difficult for him to retrace his steps, and in any case he will have forfeited the good opinion of the adverse party, much to the prejudice of his reputation if matters go wrong, and certainly will have endured much anxiety and spent enormous sums.'

The Holy Father was of his opinion, but did not say a word respecting the negotiations which were being carried on. He told Badoer what he had heard from France and from Flanders. All was wrong in Spain. The Nuncio at Cologne had written to say that the army of the Duke of Parma was not paid, that sedition had appeared in the ranks, that the general had much to do to maintain himself in the Netherlands, and, 'that being the case,' added the Pope, 'they speak of the armies which they are to send to France. They would like to conquer the world, and are not capable of taking

Cambrai. An attempt to re-victual Paris had failed. The convoys, the troops, the artillery, all had fallen into the enemy's hands. The King of Navarre wrote to Luxemburg that he occupied the bridges of Charenton and of St. Cloud, and that the Parisians were reduced to fasting. The Legate had shut himself up in Paris, and was eating grass like a pig: he only has what he deserves. He tries to excite the people to resist; but, when Mayenne is next defeated, they will think more of their interests than of the Legate's exhortations.' That audience left a hope in the ambassador that the treaty would not be signed.

A fortnight after, on the 28th of July, just at the most critical moment, Badoer found the language of the Pope much more explicit. His resolution was evidently taken. He would not sign the convention. 'We will not,' he said, 'enter into an agreement with Spain; but we must do something for France. We shall follow the example of three of our predecessors. We shall not do anything without informing the Republic, in order that, should it suit them, they may advise and support us. We do not wish to oblige the Republic to do so; but it will be enough for us to learn that the Government of Venice have said: "The Pope has done well." In fact we want to re-establish peace in France without pandering to the passions of others.' The ambassador, who felt much re-assured, bowed and said nothing. 'We think,' continued the Pope, 'that it is better to work for the good of France, rather than join any other Power. That will spare us much anxiety and much expense. If necessary, we shall come

to the rescue of the elected king, without troubling anyone.' But who was that future king in the Pope's mind? asked the ambassador of himself. He tried to find out. 'But, Holy Father,' said he, 'it will not be easy to get rid of Navarre, powerful and victorious as he is; and if he became a Catholic what would your Holiness do?' 'We are not likely to exclude him more than others,' rejoined the Pope, 'and certainly if he becomes a Catholic, he will be elected, and be the master of that kingdom, and no one can oppose him. But you will soon know all; meanwhile write what we have told you.'

The Congregation of France had finished its examination of the question as to the succession to the throne of France. After listening to the several opinions expressed, the Holy Father gave his own. 'I have maturely considered,' said he, 'the opinions of the cardinals, and after a careful examination of them I have arrived at the decision that I shall send two cardinals, the one Monsignor Seraphino, to the princes of the blood, to the prelates, and to the nobility of the kingdom of France; and the other, Monsignor Borghese, to the towns and other places belonging to the League, there to invite everyone to assemble within a certain time for the purpose of electing a Catholic king. Both prelates are to strive their utmost so that the votes of all may fall upon one candidate only.' The king thus elected might depend upon the support of the Holy See, the Pope being resolved to help him by every temporal or spiritual means in his power. He then asked the opinion of the cardinals.

Santa Severina spoke first, and said that His Holiness would do as he pleased; but that, for himself, he could never approve the mission of a Papal agent to the Court of a heretic. The anger of the Pope got the better of him, and a violent discussion ensued. The opinions of the other members of the Congregation were divided, but it was finally agreed that a memorandum of the proceedings should be drawn up and communicated to the Spanish ambassadors. That document was to start on the principle that the wish of His Holiness and that of the King were identical, namely, to give to France a Catholic king, and then to show that the means adopted by the Congregation were justified by precedents. It was lastly resolved upon, for the justification of the Pope himself, that the memorandum should be sent to all the Christian princes.

The ambassadors did not wait for the official communication of a resolution which evidently aimed at accelerating the conversion and election of Henry. By dint of pressing requests, and notwithstanding the excuses of the Pope for not receiving them, and the great heat, which he put forward as a pretext for declining their hateful visits, they contrived to have an audience. It was on the 7th of August. When the Pope saw them coming in, he at once spoke to them, and indulged in interminable repetitions respecting the state of affairs in France, the successes of Henry, the mistakes of Mayenne, and the unwarrantable conduct of the Legate. Those who have treated matters of

the kind know what efforts are necessary not to be dismayed by the calculated prolixity of the adversary, which rather tends to make the other lose his presence of mind than to disguise his own thoughts. The two Spanish ambassadors listened quietly and patiently. At last an explanation was necessary, and the Pope told them that before sending troops he had decided on sending prelates. Count Olivarès asked him whether it was true, as it was rumoured, that Monsignor Seraphino was to be one of the delegates to Henry of Navarre. 'And if it were true,' exclaimed the Pope, 'what would be the consequences?' The Duke of Sessa asked what advantages the Pope intended to derive from this mission. 'We are not bound to tell you our secrets,' was the reply. The Duke, who was for ever interrupted by the Pope's angry remarks, replied that 'it was not a question of a secret, but of matters known to everyone, of news that was spread about the streets; and that the mission of a pontifical agent to an heretical prince was a scandal, a bad means of detaching from his cause his Catholic followers, and a cruel offence to the King of Spain, since, after offering to send an army to France, the Holy Father merely sent an embassy. In fact,' he added, 'if Monsignor Seraphino leaves for the camp of Bearn, both he and the Count would write to their King that they had nothing more to expect of His Holiness.' Sixtus exclaimed that they had come to insult him in his own closet; that the King was a good prince, but that his ambassadors falsified his intentions. 'How do you know,' asked the Pope, 'that His Majesty will take it

ill if I act as I propose? We are not the slaves of the King, and obliged always to do his will, or to render him an account of our actions. We are the Spiritual Father, and it does not behove the children to give him advice when he has not asked for it. When, shortly after our election, we dismissed the French ambassador, when we published the monitory against the Very Christian King because he had killed a cardinal, we did not act after His Majesty's advice, but of our own free will; and you who wear swords—you pretend to know more of theology than we who have taken our degrees in theology, in medicine, and other faculties! By what right do you come and threaten us? Because of rumours that you have heard in the streets? Why, after all, did you come to Rome? You were announced in December last only, and now already you want to compel us. It would have been better for you not to have come. What prevented the King from prosecuting the war? What has he done in France? Nothing important.' Here the ambassadors put forward the merits of their sovereign, but the Pope interrupted them. 'The Catholics of France,' he said, 'have been victorious up to the moment when the King allied himself to Mayenne. From that time their reverses begin, and God grant similar disasters may not occur in Spain.' At last he offered to delay the mission of Monsignor Seraphino until he should have received later news from Paris.[1] The ambassadors took leave, and were convinced that he intended to

[1] On August 18 the Pope told the story of this audience to Badoer, who then saw him for the last time.

profit by their violent language to break altogether with Spain.[1]

In the Congregation which took place immediately after that stormy audience, the Holy Father complained of the behaviour of Sessa and Olivarès; and Cardinals Santa Severina and Facchinetti then hastened to the former to beg of them to let the Pope have his own way. To insist further in their opinion would only confirm him more and more in his determination to give up the expedition to France.

The mission of the Duke of Sessa had evidently failed. The ambassadors themselves were not mistaken on this point.[2] 'The Duke,' wrote Olivarès to Ydiaquez, 'has shown himself as adroit as could be desired, but his embassy has had no result.' This failure he attributed to the gentleness recommended by the King, while in his mind it was fear, and fear only, that could have broken the opposition of the Pope.[3] Besides, Olivarès was disgusted with his duties. The small satisfaction which he derived from the Duke's want of success was counterbalanced by his devotion to the King. The part of wise mentor to the young Duke which he was made to play did not suit him, and he begged his friend, the Secretary of State, to express to their master how much he regretted that he should be removed from the number of those who were looked upon as having deserved well of His Majesty.

Both he and the Duke did not cease, however, to

[1] Sessa to Philip II., August 7, 1590.
[2] Olivarès to Ydiaquez, August 19, 1590.
[3] 'La via del rigor.'

beset the old Pontiff, who was daily getting more ill, but who was not yet broken, and fought bravely against fever, and against Philip's representatives, the sight of whom filled him no longer with fear, but with disgust and anger. Curiously enough in the last days of his life, from the time when he had the courage to let the messenger of Olivarès go off with the unsigned convention, he had got back all the energy of his character, and was resolved no longer to allow himself to be alarmed. He hoped from day to day to hear of the surrender of Paris. He trusted to accomplished facts which time would bring about; for time, as everyone felt, was favourable to the cause of Henry, which was that of France, and at the same time that also of the Papacy. 'They will kill us,' he said to Badoer,[1] a fortnight before his death; 'they will not let us live, those Spaniards, and they wish to tell us what we have to do, but we do not want their teaching. We shall send troops to France, but not now, and not with Spain, but to uphold the Catholic prince that shall have been elected King of France, and meanwhile we shall send prelates there.'

On Sunday, the 19th, Olivarès and Sessa came to the Vatican. Sixtus was very ill; and, to revenge himself, he obliged them to leave their cool residence of Urbino in the middle of the day, to ascend to the Quirinal, where he resided in the summer. That audience lasted but a few minutes. The ambassadors pressed their demands, protested against the mission of Mon-

[1] August 11, 1590.

signor Seraphino, and insisted on his levying troops according to the engagement he had, 'as it were,' taken.[1] The Pope got angry, and made use of very harsh expressions; and when they declared that, if he again treated them thus, they would never again present themselves before him, he said that they might at once leave the room, which they did, never again to see him. On the 21st Sixtus V. called the Congregation of France, renewed his complaints[2] against the representatives of Philip, and asked whether the prelates were or were not to start on their mission to France. The cardinals advised that their departure should be delayed, in order not to appear to have acted out of spite, as well as out of regard for His Catholic Majesty. His Holiness agreed, and got calmer, for at that moment nothing served his purpose so well as delay.[3]

[1] The Pope gave these details himself to Graziosi, the agent of the Duke of Urbino.—'Relacion de lo que pasó con Gracioso, agente del Duque de Urbino' (Monday, August 20, 1590), addressed to the Duke of Sessa.

[2] Sessa to Philip II., August 22, 1590; with the Report of the Proceedings of the Congregation of France, by Cardinal d'Aragon. Simancas.

[3] Badoer to the Doge, August 28, 1590. 'Forse perchè la dilatione fa più a proposito della sua intentione d'ogni altra cosa.' Venice.

PART THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

DEATH OF THE POPE.

We have reached the end of these long and painful perplexities. Sixtus V. came out victoriously. His mind was made up. Everybody understood it. The Papacy was not to be the instrument of political ambition. It would lend its ecclesiastical powers and its treasures hoarded in Fort St. Angelo neither to Philip nor to the League. It would serve the cause of religion, which is, at the same time, that of society. France was to remain Catholic, and not to disappear from the map of Europe. The European equilibrium was to be maintained. It was the end of the crisis which for eighteen months had kept the world in suspense. It was the Pope's final word. His task was done. He had now only to die.

Since the spring, since that terrible month of March which had been spent in incessant discussion with Philip's ambassador, his health had visibly declined.[1]

[1] Badoer's various correspondence with the Doge, 1590. Nicolini to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, May 11, 1590. Olivarès to Philip, April 27, 1590.

A catarrhal fever, of which proper care had not been taken, assumed an intermittent character. Was it tertian or quartan fever? No one knew; for he obstinately refused to have his pulse felt, and instead of following the diet prescribed in such cases, he did as many of the peasantry do in Italy, he tried to drown the fever in a few extra glasses of wine. At first, reliance was placed upon the strong constitution of the patient; but his state soon gave cause for great anxiety.[1] On the day of the Ascension, he was seized, during mass at St. Peter's, with an attack of fever. His sick look was noticed; his weakness was perceived.[2] When the great heats of July and August came on, these attacks became more frequent, of longer duration, and more violent in character. He had an attack while speaking of the affairs of Poland in a public Consistory; another when presiding over the Congregation of France; others when he gave audiences to the ambassadors. He was with difficulty prevailed upon to lie in a bed for a few days. His strong nature, coupled with his great energy, struggled against the disease; but he seemed himself to feel that his days were

[1] 'Por haversele renovado á S. S. un terribilísimo catarro que en otra compleccion se pudiese tener por sospechoso, pero en contrapeso de la buena que Su Santidad tiene hace grandes desordenes y bebe mas cantidad de la que bebia cuando estubo sin él, y no quiere haverse ningun remedio. Con todo esto no ha tenido hasta agora calentura que se sepa, porque él no quiere dar el pulso á medico.'—Olivarès to Philip II., April 27, 1590. Arch. Simancas, S. de E. Rome, Leg. 956.

[2] 'Con gran flaqueza, caimiento y melancolia, y á la misa es cierto que tubo gran calentura, y le ardian mucho las manos. No sé, acabado este ardor, si es erratica o cuartana, porque ha despedido los medicos y quedádose con el suyo ordinario, y de aquel hace lo que le parece. Tiene con gran miedo á los suyos ver que con haberle venido evacuacion natural de sangre, en lugar de mejorar ha empeorado.'—Olivarès to Philip II., 1590.

numbered. On August 13 he held his last Consistory. The allocution, which he made, while it touched upon several subjects, was like an historical summary of his pontificate, as an adieu to his cardinals. After proposing Cardinal Alessandrino for the church of Vercelli, he said: 'As Jesus Christ shared the good and the evil days with His Apostles, so he, His vicar upon earth, made it his duty to communicate to his cardinals both his rejoicings and his afflictions. He had that day three announcements to make to them. The first was a very happy one—viz., the conversion of the Margrave of Baden, respecting which he entered into many details. He then told them of other causes for rejoicing, such as the taking of three corsairs by his galleys, 'the first success of his navy, which was evidently favoured by Providence, since he had created it only for the purpose of sweeping the pirates from off the seas, and not to molest any Christian prince.'

After this good news came the bad news: the licence indulged in by Spanish preachers, the sermon of the Jesuit father who had dared to accuse the Pope of favouring the heretics. He spoke at length upon that subject, and pointed out that it was in Madrid, at the Catholic Court of so Christian a prince, that such a scandal had taken place. But he depended upon the help of Providence, who would protect him, the Church, and his States, which at that time were much tried, in consequence of a bad harvest. If, however, the Pope's granaries were empty, his coffers were full of gold; and he proposed to the Congregation to

appropriate a sum of 500,000 ducats to the relief of his distressed subjects. He was happy to be able to give easily such important sums, but still more so, by so doing, to convince the world that he had hoarded up these treasures only in order to have the means, in times of distress, of helping his subjects, and not with the view of waging war.

The misery of the people and the famine of 1590 were not the only evils that, in those last days of his life, arose to cloud the brilliancy of his reign, and to give a terrible denial to the proud words which, on his accession, he had addressed to the municipal authorities of Rome, when he promised that during his pontificate they should never lack abundance. The banditti likewise reappeared:[1] Piccolomini in Tuscany, others on the frontiers of the Papal States. During the last days which preceded the death of the Pope, brigands were seen even at the gates of Rome. Ottavio Cesi was sent in pursuit of them, but he was obliged to return, his soldiers having refused to fight. This bad news had been at first concealed from the Pope: when he heard it he experienced the deepest affliction, and at once ordered most strenuous measures.

But he was near his end. On Sunday, the 19th, he had received the Spanish ambassadors. The emotions of that interview caused him a restless night. On the Monday he had an attack of fever. On the following Tuesday morning he convoked (for the last time) the

[1] Badoer, Olivarès, 1590. *Avvisi*, July 4 and 18, and August 4, 1590.

Congregation of France;[1] complained, as usual, of the Spaniards; and said that Philip, who intended to have himself proclaimed God, would meet with the fate of Nebuchadnezzar; and hoped that Henry might be converted. Seraphino, he said, would be made a cardinal if he succeeded in making him recant; and then, in answer to a question of the Cardinal of Aragon, he asserted that he would not recognise Henry as king. His speech was the confused, incoherent, and contradictory language of a man who is a prey to an attack of fever. When the Congregation was over, and towards the end of the day, the Pope had a crisis which might, it was feared, prove fatal. Doctors were hastily called in. Towards 2 in the night (10 o'clock), the attack came on with great violence. Cardinal Aldobrandini, who, as 'datario,' lodged near the Quirinal, arrived in all haste; and for two hours the Pope seemed as if he were about to leave this earth. Notwithstanding all the supplications of the doctors, he got up the next morning, and dined off a melon and a few glasses of wine. He then transacted business for a long time, as was his wont, with Aldobrandini, with the Governor of Rome, and other people. On Thursday the 23rd, though very weak, he got up, said mass, and presided during four hours over the Congregation of the Inquisition. Towards the end of the day there came on another attack. On Friday, the 24th, he found himself obliged to put off the audience which he was to give that day to

[1] Sessa to Philip II., August 22, 1590. 'Relacion del Cardenal Aragon de lo que pasó en la congregacion de Francia, Mártes, 21 de Agosto de 1590.' Badoer, August 25, 1590.

the diplomatic agents at Rome. The doctors declared that the fever was of a continuous nature, coupled with an intermittent character. They deemed the state of His Holiness to be dangerous, rather on account of the impossibility of making him follow any diet, than of the gravity of the malady from which he was suffering. In transmitting the bulletins to the Doge, Badoer added: 'May it please God, in these days of great calamity, to preserve the life of this good and wise Pope, who is so anxious for the peace and prosperity of that poor kingdom of France.'

The Pope's old friend and private 'cameriere' took care of him. 'If,' he wrote to Monsignor Usimbardi, 'he would obey the doctors, he would soon get well; but if not, not. This evening he will be told so crudely. He will be informed of the state in which he is, and I have to break the ice, for no one else will dare to do it; but your Sangaletto is a martyr when it is a question of serving His Holiness.'

On Sunday, the 26th, he suffered greatly. The Pope allowed the physicians to do as they pleased. His strength was rapidly declining. Mass was said in his room, and Donna Camilla, entering without being announced, embraced her brother, and remained crying near his bedside for many hours. On the following morning, Monday, August 27, after spending a restless night, he asked to hear mass. During the elevation of the host, he tried to kneel, which he could only do with the aid of Sangaletto. Towards twelve he fell into a swoon: at one time it was thought that he was dead, and Donna Camilla, Cardinals Gius-

tiniani, Pinelli, Aldobrandini, and his confessor were called in all haste. Young Montalto, who was heart-broken, fell to the ground. The attacks were several times renewed. At intervals the sick man rallied, groaned, and opened his eyes, to shut them immediately after. They administered to him the sacrament of the extreme unction, and at seven in the evening, while a violent thunderstorm was breaking over Rome, Pope Sixtus the Fifth breathed his last.[1]

[1] Sangaletto to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, August 27, 1590. It is the letter of a man who has lost his head under the weight of his responsibility, and who was frightened because he had not warned the Pope in time of his dangerous state, and left him to die without the sacraments. At the end of his letter, which he closed a few minutes before the Pope's death, it is said that His Holiness had confessed at 6 o'clock, but that it was impossible to give him the communion. In another letter, of the 29th, he wrote to the Grand-Duke thus: 'That good and holy old man wished to die. He has received every attention, both temporal and spiritual, which he required.' This manner of gliding over the question of the sacraments, which had preoccupied him so much in his former letter, written at the bedside of the dying man, confirms the reports of the Spanish ambassadors, who wrote to the King that the Pope had died without confession, and who would not have asserted the fact if it were not positive. We should not notice the circumstance if Olivarès and Sessa had not profited by it to satisfy their hatred against the Pope by accusing him of want of piety. Many writers have asserted that Sixtus was poisoned by the Spaniards. Such a fable does not even deserve contradiction, or, rather, is contradicted by the despatches of Badoer and of Sangaletto. Had there been the least suspicion, the least rumour of the kind, neither one nor the other would have remained silent. It is evidently one of the numerous inventions of Gregorio Leti, published seventy-nine years after the Pope's death. Olivarès and Sessa undoubtedly helped to shorten the life of the Pontiff, but not with poison. In an 'avviso' of Rome, August 29, 1590, it is said: 'The illness was so violent, and His Holiness was so lukewarm as regards the salvation of his soul, that he could not finish his confession. . . . . his body has been opened, and found to be in a perfect state (*nettissimo*), from which it is supposed that his illness was caused by an abuse of pure and young wines.' The author of this notice is no friend of Sixtus, and looked upon his death as an act of Divine mercy. Had the rumours of a violent death been spread in Rome, he would have delighted in reporting it.

Ambassadors dispatched their messengers, who had been expecting the great news, one foot in the stirrup. Impressions written hurriedly almost always render faithfully the minds of their authors. Badoer tells briefly to the Doge the last phase and fatal ending of the illness of Sixtus V. 'His family and his friends are in tears,' he adds, 'and all good people are really anxious. This death comes at a most inopportune moment. For me, I mourn over it sincerely, on account of your Serenity; for, notwithstanding the natural severity of His Holiness, and thanks to his very favourable disposition towards the Republic, we could always, with patience and ability, depend upon a good result in every negotiation we had with him.'

All the hatred of Olivarès, and the savage delight which the Pope's death caused him, appear in the few lines which he wrote to Philip. 'The attack was so violent that His Holiness died without confession, and even worse, worse, worse (*peor*, *peor*, *peor*): may God be merciful to him!' He already saw him in the deepest recesses of hell. The Duke of Sessa wrote to Ydiaquez: 'This evening, at seven, the Pope died, without confession. There is a cardinal who says that he has not confessed for years. May God welcome him above! He could not have died at a worse moment for his reputation, for he will leave a worse name than any other Pope that has reigned for many years.'

Badoer wrote to the Doge an account of the days that followed the death of Sixtus V. 'Here,' he said, 'there were few signs of mourning. On the contrary, on the following morning, a crowd of gentlemen and

of common people proceeded to the Capitol to pull down the statue of his Holiness. The tumult was with difficulty appeased by the Constable Colonna (the husband of the Pope's grand-niece), who was accompanied by a great many noblemen, and by Mario Sforza, who had been sent thither by the Sacred College. The people were told that for a time the statue should be covered up. It was also resolved that, while henceforth no statue should be raised to a living Pontiff, so neither should any be erected after his death unless he had proved himself worthy of the honour.

'Now, thanks to the wise precautions of the noblemen, matters are quiet. In the first Congregation, Don Michael Peretti, grand-nephew of the late Pope, has been appointed commander of the army, and at the request of Montalto, who wishes to place that family under obligation to him, Duke Onorato Gaetano has been appointed the commander's second. The latter has been charged with the levying with the shortest delay possible two thousand infantry for the defence of Rome. At present the Roman people themselves through their "caporioni" have undertaken that task efficiently.' He adds, that the Pope's measures against the banditti have been modified by the cardinals. 'Besides the three millions of gold scudi which, according to the late Pope's will, cannot be appropriated to any other purpose than to the pressing requirements of the Church,' adds Badoer, 'another million and 150,000 scudi, which were at the disposal of the Pope, have been found in Fort St. Angelo. The latter sums have in the space of an hour been distributed by the

cardinals as follows: 500,000 scudi to the towns of the States; 400,000 scudi to buy corn for Rome; and the other 250,000 scudi to pay the expenses of the Conclave. . . . Cardinal Gaetano is to be confirmed in his post as Legate in France, and to receive a subsidy of 25,000 scudi. That will take place at the request of his family, and still more under the pressure of the Spanish grandees and of the ambassador of the League. Thus in one day everything has been turned upside down.'

Such is the history, told soberly, of the reaction which is wont to begin in the higher as in the lower spheres, whenever pigmies succeed to giants, and, enjoying their new liberty, are desirous of profiting by it, if they can, so as promptly to destroy the works of the man who has ceased to exist. They enjoyed his favours, but his superiority weighed upon them. Now they take their revenge and satisfy their petty rancour, generally to their own hurt, by doing the contrary of what he had done. If, in telling the facts as they took place, the intelligent Venetian diplomatist has no regret to express at this sudden change in favour of Spain and of the League, it is because he knows the Sacred College well. Whoever shall come out of the Conclave as Pope will not, he knows, be a Sixtus V. His favour or his hostility cannot be of much weight in the scale.

The news of the Pope's death was received with unalloyed pleasure both in Spain and in the camp of the League; with indolent sympathy at Prague;[1] with regret

[1] Curzio Picchena, chargé d'affaires of Tuscany, to the Grand-Duke

at Venice; and throughout Europe as an event of the highest importance. Contarini wrote on this subject to the Doge from Madrid, and said: 'The more men reflect over the death of the Pope here, the more they rejoice over it. Everyone speaks of it with much freedom and little respect. It is thought, and some assert loudly, that whosoever may succeed him cannot be more opposed to the policy of this Government, or more hostile to the League of France than was the last Pope.'

The Doge, in the name of the Government of the Republic, addressed letters of condolence, which were couched in warm terms, to the sister and grand-nephew of the deceased Pontiff.

Donna Camilla survived her brother many years, and died at an advanced age in the Cancelleria Palace.

Cardinal Alexander Montalto, who disposed of the numerous faction of his great-uncle's creatures, filled an important part in the Conclaves which resulted in the elections of Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., Clement VIII., Leo XI., and Paul V. No one knew better the sentiments with which each Pope was animated, and no one could turn them to better advantage. He had less mind, however, than heart; and the memory of his charity and his munificence has, under the form of anecdotes, been preserved by popular tradition. When he died, still young, in 1623, every

Ferdinand, September 7, 1590. He was the first to give the news of the Pope's death to the Emperor, as his Majesty was leaving chapel. Rodolph's features changed, but he said nothing.

shop was shut as a sign of mourning. All Rome proceeded to the Cancelleria, and wished to assist at his funeral, which took place at the Church of St. Andrea del Valle, which had been built mostly at his expense.

His brother, Don Michael, had two children of his first wife, the Countess della Somaglia, one of whom was Cardinal Francesco, and the other Donna Maria Felice, who died in 1656. By his second wife, Anna Maria de Cesi, he had no children. His daughter, Maria Felice, married Bernardino Savelli, and gave birth to a daughter and two sons. One was Cardinal Paul, and the other Giulio Savelli, the last descendant of the principal branch of that illustrious family. The daughter, Donna Margarita, married Duke Giuliano, the last of the Cesarini. They had only one daughter, Donna Livia, the heiress of the Cesarini, Savelli, Peretti, Somaglia, Cabrera, and Boadilla. She married Federico Sforza, who took the title of Duke Cesarini Sforza (1673). With his mother's brother, Cardinal Francesco Peretti, who died in the Conclave which elected Alexander VII. (1655), the name of Peretti disappeared. This name was only an adopted one, the family's real name being Damasceni. Giulio, who was the last of the principal branch of the family of Savelli, and the last of the Peretti through his mother, Donna Maria Felice, died on March 5, 1712, almost a ruined man, and obliged to alienate the greater part of the large estates of the two families of which he was the representative. The obligation under which the heirs of Don Michael were of returning to the house of Cesi the marriage portion of his second wife, had

made the first breach in the colossal fortune of the Peretti. The debts incurred by Cardinals Alexander and Francesco Montalto hastened the ruin. When the fortune came into the hands of the Sforza it was so impaired that little of it remained except a few lands that had belonged to Donna Margarita Somaglia, first wife of Michael Peretti.

We must not omit to mention the man who had done so much to enhance the prestige of Sixtus V., and had lived in his intimacy. Domenico Fontana could not escape the effects of the reaction. From the moment of the accession of Clement VIII. he fell into unmerited disgrace. Deprived of his post as pontifical architect of St. Peter's, and ordered to render an account of the expenses of building during the pontificate of his illustrious protector, he left Rome, and at the call of Count Miranda, Viceroy of Naples, accepted the position of royal architect and chief engineer of the kingdom. Under him, as well as under Olivarès, who succeeded Miranda, he executed many works of importance both in the capital and in the provinces. After changing the aspect of Rome, he embellished Naples, and died in that town 'rich in years, in money, and in honours.'[1]

[1] In 1607. Milizia, Architetti, 1785. He straightened the Chiaia and Santa Lucia: built the royal palace and the Museum (Studij); erected the beautiful fountain called the Miranda, and constructed some great hydraulic works in the provinces.

CHAPTER II.

PORTRAIT OF SIXTUS V. AND THE MEN OF HIS TIMES.

We shall not try to give for the second time the portrait of Sixtus V. He has painted himself by his words, which have been recorded upon the testimony of those to whom they were addressed, and by his acts, which have been told in the official reports written by the principal witnesses. The reader who has had the patience to follow us in this long narrative is able to form his judgment. We shall not impose our own upon him. But we may be allowed to throw a glance back upon the most important portion of the reign of this Pope; that is, upon his intervention in French affairs.

In presence of the events of which France was the theatre, he aimed at two things: the preservation of the Catholic religion, which was seriously compromised, and the maintenance of France in the rank of the first Powers of Europe. He was convinced that if the new creed should be enthroned in France it was all over for some time, nay, perhaps for generations, with the Catholic religion in Europe. Its defenders would succumb in Germany; Italy would be invaded by heresy; Rome would fall. Spain also could scarcely resist the invasion. It is not a supposition of our own;

it is one which he was constantly expressing. In many instances it was reported by ambassadors, by cardinals, by those who approached him; and, what is more, that opinion, or rather that conviction, was shared by everyone. It is met with in both the hostile camps. The one dreads its possible realisation as the greatest of evils; the other calls for it with all possible energy as the complete realisation of all its dearest wishes. Such was the general state of Europe, and so great were already the prestige, power, and influence of France that she was to decide the issue of the crisis. If she embraced the reformed creed, it was said, then the Catholic religion must disappear from the civilized world.

The Catholic religion must therefore be saved in France. But if France was to fall from the rank of a first Power, if she was to become a vassal of Spain, she would undoubtedly remain officially Catholic, but the centre and great focus of the faith would lose its independence, and become the first living at the disposal of the Catholic Kings. The Catholic religion, mortally struck, must then have slowly but inevitably perished. Whether this opinion was a right one or not is not the question. What we have to note, as we have done by numberless quotations, is that for Sixtus V., as well as for the chief personages of his time, the question was an anxious, an incontestable truth.

Here, then, are the conclusions at which those had arrived who were interested in the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and naturally no one was more interested in it than the Head of the Church. Religion

and France must be saved; and if this could not be done, then France must be sacrificed to save religion. It was a hard and extreme alternative, which should be avoided as much as possible, but which must be faced when all other means had failed. When a man is in presence of two dangers, the one imminent and the other far off, it is clear that he will endeavour to avoid the nearest. Such was the state of mind of Sixtus V. as regards France, or rather such was the manner in which he and the rest of Europe understood the dilemma.

What was Philip's policy? We do not intend to examine the personal worth of that prince; we merely attach ourselves to facts and to things. In consequence of the division of the Empire of Charles V. between the two branches of the house of Austria, Spain, that is the Iberian peninsula, the kingdoms, principalities, earldoms, and colonies beyond the sea were placed in a new position under the sceptre of Philip IV.; and it was not long before it became clear that their position was not tenable. That great political act, which had been caused by the natural love of a father for a son, and by a crowd of other reasons of a higher order, became, while it extended the power of Spain, an element of dissolution. The two Flanders, Franche Comté, the Milanese, the kingdom of Naples, which, with the exception of the latter, all lay in the centre of the great European movement, must in future gravitate towards the Iberian peninsula, which that movement could never altogether reach, owing to the character and insular existence of the Castilian population. Moreover, those countries were separated from the

peninsula either by the sea or by France. What was the moral link, what was the community of interests and of traditions, which united them to Spain? There was none whatever. On abdicating, the Emperor, who was ill and disgusted, had made a present to his son of all his States. They were in future mere provinces, or at best Spanish colonies, and to such a fate they would not submit. Had they been given to Ferdinand, their individual existence was guaranteed. They would have become indirectly, not legally but *de facto*, members of the Holy Empire as long as the Hapsburgs should wear the imperial crown. What followed? The Netherlands revolted. An army and the greatest commanders of the age, the blood of Spain and the precious metals of the new world, were required to put down a portion only of the revolted provinces, which were occupied by overwhelming forces. The Milanese presented the aspect of an immense camp. The Neapolitans, who were of a less martial nature, were more easily governed; but even there there were periodical attempts at insurrection. Almost every two or three years a number of people were seen in Rome who had fled from Naples and escaped the scaffold, which was permanently erected, and the prisons, which were crowded. Was it the fault of the Government in Madrid? Partly so, perhaps. The influence of the new religious feeling, which formed so important an element in the Dutch insurrection, must also be taken into account. But the principal cause of these hostile dispositions is, we believe, to be found in the peculiar character of these States, which were formerly

independent, and were now annexed to Spain. This is, however, a question which we could not touch upon without going beyond the limits of our subject. To maintain a power over these countries, and not to lose, either sooner or later, the Transatlantic possessions, two things were necessary in which Spain was wanting—insured communication with Italy and with Flanders, on the one hand, and the dominion of the seas, which Spain had possessed, but which she was fast losing through the growing navy of England. The Spain of Philip, such as his father had made it for him, was either too big or too small.

This explains and even justifies the policy followed by the King; for he had a right, and even it was his duty, to maintain the kingdom in the state in which he had received it, and he could not do so without enlarging it. It was impossible for him to stop. If he advanced, he would be entitled to be called the arbiter of Europe. But if he drew back, Spain would become what we now see it. To insure his communications with the detached members of that body, to preserve New Spain—in other words, to maintain his monarchy—it was necessary for him to have Brittany, so as to recover his dominion of the seas, and to have the supremacy in France, in order to be able to communicate freely with Flanders, with Italy, and with Franche Comté. Such were the incentives of the policy he pursued. This is no mere fancy, for he himself has made them known to us; we know it from his own words, and on this head his contemporaries never

questioned his perfect sincerity. It was only when he gave out religion to be his chief, and indeed his only motive for doing what he did, that they disbelieved him. The reader besides has been able to read his most intimate thoughts, which are laid bare in the series of secret instructions given to his agents, Olivarès, Mendoza, Tarsis. 'I shall in any case,' he said, 'carry out the expedition against Brittany. Brittany belongs to my daughter, the Infanta.' In truth, he needed Brittany. Had he possessed it the Armada would not have perished, and, probably, he would have become the arbiter of the destinies of England. 'If the Duke of Lorraine,' he again said, 'is elected King of France, the duchy of that name must come into the hands of Spain. It will form the means of communication between Burgundy and Flanders ; but, in any case, it cannot be annexed to France.' The Duke of Mayenne, who knew the King's mind on this subject, hinted to him that he might receive, as the reward for helping him to be elected, not only Provence, but the Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Brittany. And, as if he wanted to silence his own conscience, he said to himself, 'France not long ago did not possess those provinces, and was already a great kingdom.' Philip, on the other hand, by a course not uncommon in such cases, tried to justify, by moral principles, a conduct which the force of circumstances obliged him to follow. This is the reasoning by which he tried to persuade himself that his pretensions were just. We have more than once seen him declare that he was the arm, the secular

vicar of God upon earth. 'It is my mission,' he said. I must have the power which God has given me; to preserve that power I must have France and the sea.' He was, undoubtedly, the most powerful pillar of the Church; and he was so in the opinion of all the Catholics, as well as in that of Sixtus V. We know it from the Pope himself; for here, we cannot too often repeat it, we confine ourselves to the evidence of contemporary witnesses. On this head the Pope and the King were agreed; only, and this explains the conduct of Sixtus V., Philip saw the salvation of Spain in the possession of France and of the sea alone—that is, in a universal monarchy under his own rule; whereas the Pope considered a universal monarchy to be incompatible with the existence of the Church.

Let us now consider the King of Navarre, one of the three principal characters of that great historical drama. On the election of Sixtus V., France, at least apparently so, was divided into only two camps, the Catholics and the Protestants. If Henry of Navarre was victorious, he would be so at the head of the Huguenots, with auxiliary troops furnished to him by the Queen of England, by Germany, and by Switzerland. His victory would be the final and complete triumph of the new creed. That is what everyone believed; for Europe lived under the *régime* of the principle 'cujus regio ejus religio': subjects followed the religious creed of their sovereigns. In virtue of this maxim, to which in Germany the Augsburg Diet had given the force of a law, England had twice been seen to pass from one religion to another. It might therefore be believed,

and everyone was convinced of it, that at that time Henry's triumph would be equivalent to the total annihilation of the Catholic religion in France.

Thus it was that, shortly after his election, Sixtus fulminated his 'privatory' bull against the King of Navarre. Meanwhile he offered to Henry III. his armed interference. In doing this he was consistent with himself. He pursued his high object, which was to save at the same time both religion and France. But, new as he was then to politics, he made a mistake in his appreciation of men and things. He believed in the possibility of the success of both the Catholic parties, by their own means; which implied an honest but really impossible reconciliation between Henry III. and the League. The murder of the Guises changed the situation. Affairs assumed a new phase, which first brought Philip upon the stage. As long as the League and Henry III. had fought together—in the hope of receiving the help which Sixtus had offered, but which he had not given, owing to the contempt he had conceived for Henry III., and to the little confidence he had in the heads of the League—it was to be hoped, and even it was possible, that the Huguenots might be vanquished without the co-operation of the League. That chance had now vanished. Another fact, of still greater importance, was to be taken into account; and that was the alliance of the two Henrys, and the number of Catholics who had joined the party of the united kings. Some time after the King was assassinated, and Henry of Navarre became the sovereign of a portion of France. What were the elements of his strength? In the first

place he had the Huguenot army, then the suffrages of the national party, of the Catholic-royalists. If he were victorious, as he would undoubtedly be, provided Spain, which was always slow, did not interfere, this is the position in which France would have been: the Huguenot element would predominate, and Catholics would be granted the free exercise of their religion, which would thus fall into the rank of a tolerated creed. Henry might even go so far as to give up Protestantism, but such a conversion would necessarily be feigned. The Catholic religion would not be saved; it would at best be an adjournment of its ruin. It was, therefore, through fear of such a result that the Pope chose the lesser of two evils, that of sacrificing France to save religion. He therefore threw himself into the arms of Spain. He sent Gaetano to the Duke of Mayenne with the instructions with which the reader has been made acquainted; and proposed in Madrid, through Gesualdo, an armed invervention in common with Philip. Judging of French affairs by the light in which he viewed them, he could not do otherwise. To give 'that poor kingdom' a last favourable chance, he intended to keep the whip-hand—that is, the supreme direction in the undertaking—and offered to furnish the largest number of troops, asking, at the same time, that the united forces might be placed under the command of a general of his choice.

Meanwhile in Henry's camp adhesions to his rule came pouring in. From every quarter the Pope heard that the King would recant. The Catholic spirit of the country showed itself with such force that the

conversion of the future sovereign was no longer a useful means of success, but an actual condition of his accession to the throne. France was Catholic, and would remain Catholic. France was a great and independent kingdom, that wished to remain so, and could do so only under the rule of Henry, all the other princes being either foreigners or incapable of reigning; nor could Henry fulfil such a mission except by embracing the faith of the country over which he was to reign. Even in his army the parts were changed. The Huguenots were in a minority. There was a time when Henry commanded Huguenots only, when he had only Protestant allies. Then the Catholic-royalists joined his cause; the two creeds were represented in his camp, where the Huguenot element was in the majority. Then—and this is the last phase—the Huguenots became mere auxiliaries, who were still valuable and were to be considered, but with whom after victory there could in the future be but little reckoning. If Henry triumphed, the Catholic religion must triumph with him. He would scarcely owe anything to his old co-religionists. During the first period Henry's conversion was impossible. During the second, it was probable, but feigned, and therefore inadmissible in the eyes of the Head of the Church. In the last, it had become necessary and inevitable, and imposed upon him by the will of France, over which he was to reign, because he was the only one who could reign. Then why and by what right did the Pope refuse him absolution? It was not all of a sudden, but little by little, that these ideas found their way into the mind of

the Pontiff. When he had got well imbued with them, when events confirmed what his good sense suggested to him, when they justified the reasoning of the Duke of Luxemburg, of Monsignor Seraphino, of Donato, of Badoer, he changed his line of conduct, not his policy, for he had always aimed and still aimed at the same results. The Spanish ambassadors accused him of being influenced by events; and no doubt the successes of Henry—the votes of Catholic France which were daily given to him—did exercise a great influence over the Pope's conduct. He acted as the tactician who directs his operations according to those of the adversary, who changes his line of battle, orders a march and a countermarch, advances or falls back, according to the requirements of the moment, but who pursues the same aim, that of beating the enemy; and the Pope's enemy was the new creed and the ambition of Philip. He therefore tried to get rid of his engagements with Spain, certain as he was that France would now issue from the crisis both Catholic in religion and independent as a nation.

Then begins that long and terrible struggle with the representatives of the son of Charles V., which fills, while it shortens, the remaining period of his life. No one can deny, and everyone is at liberty to appreciate as he pleases, the fact that in this duel he opposed craft to strength, that he made use of the arms which were at his disposal, that he entrenched himself behind his scruples as a Pontiff in order to gain the delay which alone could give the solution he hoped for; just as a woman appeals, as a last resource, to the

weakness of her sex. The truth is that, with many fluctuations and temporary weaknesses, with much heroic courage, he fought for the same cause, which he never deserted, and did so vigorously, constantly, and to the last. The tree that defies the elements, groans and bends beneath the fury of the hurricane, loses its foliage and breaks its branches, but yet resists and stands erect.

Another question remains to be cleared. We have to elucidate the part taken by Sixtus V. in the final solution, the triumph of Henry. We shall not write here history founded on mere conjectures. Everyone knows how difficult it is, even as regards events which have come under our notice, to form an opinion of any value upon possible issues, or to say that such and such a thing might have occurred supposing so and so to have taken place. This time also we shall confine ourselves to quoting the authority of contemporary witnesses. We shall specially call attention to what the most eminent statesmen of the period—the keenest observers, and the best judges in political matters—the Venetian ambassadors, thought on the subject. Badoer and the Senate, which was composed of 'those good old sages' for whom Sixtus V. had so much respect, looked upon the great league between Spain and the Pope, and the simultaneous intervention of a Spanish and Pontifical army, under the supreme direction of the Pope, and under the command of a general chosen by and dependent on him, as the destruction of France. That opinion we adopt without reserve. It is corroborated by that of all the political men of that

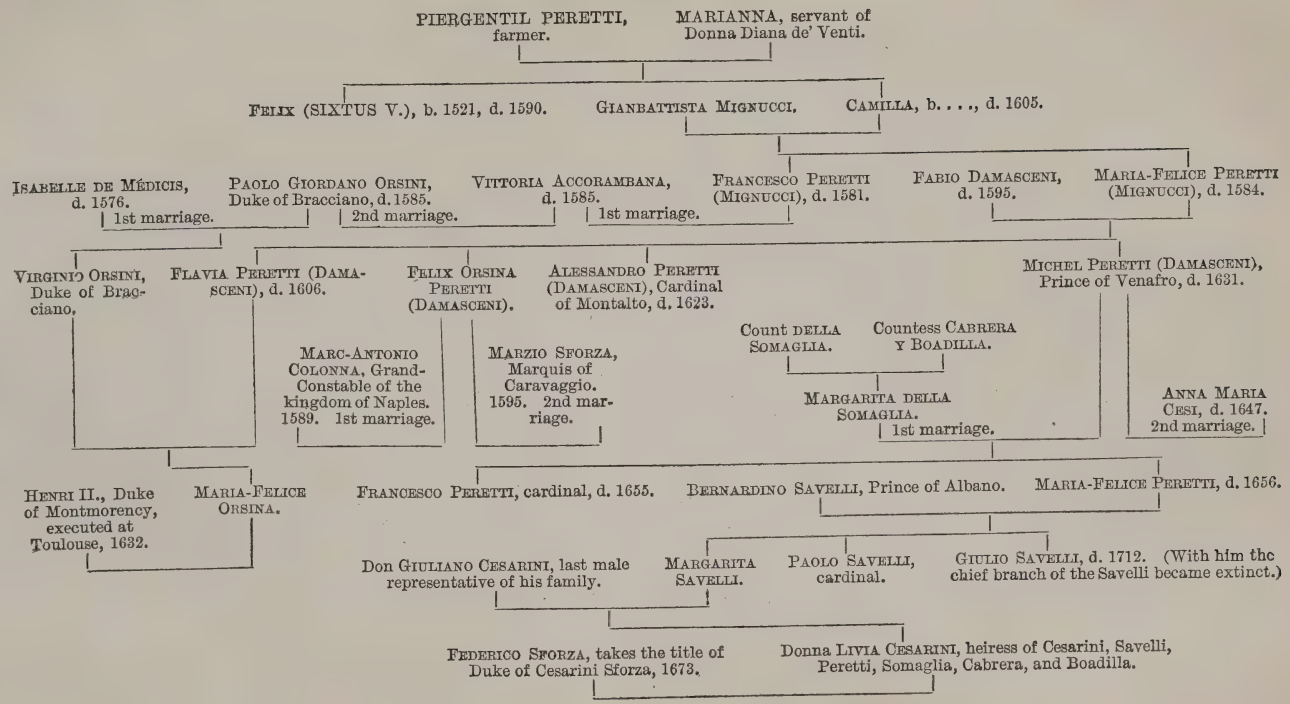
day, and by the facts which then occurred as well as by subsequent events. The Duke of Parma was, it is true, in a critical position. He had rebellion to contend with in the rear and on his flanks, as well as sedition in his ranks; yet he was able to march against Paris, and oblige Henry to raise the siege. The latter had to wait nearly four years before he could enter Paris. When Sixtus V. put his financial and military means (and he had, as he often acknowledged, more money than any other prince) into the scale, with Spain and the League, he might, by pushing operations under the command of a general chosen by himself, and by communicating his energy, his quickness, his constancy to all, as he well knew how to do, have crushed in a few weeks, with 50,000 well-equipped and well-paid men, the weak forces of which Henry could dispose. But, the victory once obtained, when, in the negotiations, the plenipotentiaries of the three allies, the Pope, Philip, and the Duke of Mayenne, would have proceeded to the question of a successor to the throne of France, the influence of the Pope (had he still been alive), however great it might have been during the war, would have faded before the claims of the King of Spain and of the Chief of the League. That is evident, from the engagements into which he had entered, and is confirmed by the opinion of the Venetian ambassador. Sixtus V., after emptying his treasury, which he could only have very slowly filled, would have found himself in the presence of Philip, as he himself said, 'like the fly before the elephant.' To restrain the ambition of his ally he could not have

recourse to spiritual means. He could not excommunicate His Catholic Majesty in order to prevent him from solving the question of succession in the way he pleased, since he had beforehand agreed to recognise as King of France any candidate proposed or favoured by Philip. He had been obliged to make this engagement, because at that time it was a powerful means of obtaining the active, efficacious, and prompt intervention of Spain. This is evident, as we have said, from the position of affairs and from the documents of which we have made known the principal passages. 'The Pope,' says Badoer, 'intends to withdraw later. I fear that he may be mistaken if he joins Spain in a league.' The secret instructions of the King to Mendoza and to Tarsis, as well as the subsequent events, show what the consequences might have been of a victory of Philip and of the Sovereign Pontiff. What would have been the aspect of Europe then? Spain, beyond all doubt, would, either directly or indirectly, have been everywhere the preponderating Power: her dominion would have been impatiently endured, and sooner or later upset. The Papacy would have been humbled; Rome would have been morally transferred to Madrid; the Catholic religion would have been confounded with 'espagnolisme,' and would have run the greatest risk of being carried away in a common ruin, so soon as Spain should succumb under the blows of coalesced Europe; the French people would have been condemned for a long time, before it could become the great and noble nation which it is, to fearful convulsions, perhaps to centuries of struggles and catastrophes, bloodshed and

tears. Such is the dark picture which unfolds itself before our imagination. Happily, Europe has been spared these trials. These contingencies have not arisen. They are phantoms that escape the criticism of the historian and of the politician.

But what may be asserted is that Sixtus the Fifth saved France from incalculable miseries, and has deserved well of the Church and of humanity.

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF PERETTI.



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